SEVENTH MEMOIR OF

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

(EXTRA VOLUME FOR 1888-9.)

THE

MOUND OF THE JEW AND THE CITY OF ONIAS.

BELBEIS, SAMANOOD, ABUSIR, TUKH EL KARMUS.

1887.

By EDOUARD NAVILLE.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH.

AND

MISCELLANEOUS WORK IN LOWER EGYPT DURING THE YEARS 1887-1888.

By F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

WITH TWENTY-SIX PLATES.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

LONDON:

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.

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B. Quaritch

GENERAL VIEW OF TELL-EL-YAHÛDÎYEH

(A Colossal Statue of Rameses II. in the foreground).

From a Photograph by the Rev. W. MacGregor.

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[1] To Professor Poole is due the correct reading of the name as Pen amen, which I failed to decipher at its first discovery.—F. L. G.

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THE MOUND OF THE JEW AND THE CITY OF ONIAS.

BELBEIS, SAMANOOD, ABUSIR, TUKH EL KARMUS.

1887.

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

PREFACE.

THE present memoir describes only those excavations which were made during the first half of the winter of 1887. This circumstance accounts for its shortness. Immediately after leaving Tukh el Karmus, we settled at Tell Basta, a site which required the two following winters for its thorough excavation, the considerable results of which will be published in a separate volume.

During the winter of 1887 I had the valuable help of Mr. Griffith, who in the present work deals chiefly with the archæological side of the excavations. The reader will notice that our opinions disagree as to the age to which some of the objects discovered in the necropolis of Tell el Yahoodieh should be attributed. Each of us is alone responsible for the views he states on this point, which we submit to the judgment of the reader.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

TELL EL YAHOODIEH.

THE EGYPTIAN CITY.

The first account we have of Tell el Yahoodieh, *the mound of the Jews*, is that of Linant,[1] who visited the place in 1825. The French engineer describes the size of the Tell, its appearance, and the few antiquities which he saw there; and noticing how actively the fellaheen were even then digging *sebakh* (manure), he prophesies that the mound will some day entirely disappear. Many years afterwards it was visited by several explorers. Mr. Greville Chester, Prof. Hayter Lewis, and Brugsch-Bey have directed the attention of travellers to that locality and to its name, which indicates a tradition, the authenticity of which it would be interesting to ascertain. The excavations made there by Brugsch-Bey brought to light the remains of a chamber lined with enamelled tiles of the time of Rameses III., fragments of which are scattered through various museums of Egypt and Europe. But the discovery has been fatal to the mound. There is no place in Egypt where the fellaheen have worked such wanton destruction, or so thoroughly carried away whatever could be taken.

Near the present station of Shibeen el Kanater, the traveller sees the mound in the distance. I need not insist much on the form of the Tell, a plan of which has been published by Prof. Hayter Lewis in illustration of his interesting paper on Tell el Yahoodieh.[2] The mound is limited by a rectangular enclosure oriented from east to west. Its long axis is about half a mile in length, while in breadth it measures a quarter of a mile from north to south. The enclosure consists of two parallel walls, separated by a space filled in with sand. The basement of these walls is built of large limestone blocks, which are constantly being quarried out by the natives. The eastern side of the enclosure is much higher than the rest, and is formed of two artificial hills, against which the sand seems to have been heaped up intentionally. Between them there is a gap which probably was occupied by a gateway. Mr. Lewis's plan indicates that these two hills have a kind of core formed by a strong wall with projecting buttresses; but I observed no trace of these constructions. In advance of that side, towards the desert, extend the ruins of a regularly built Roman city; the houses line the two main streets, exactly as one would expect to find quarters built by a colony of soldiers. The *ghezireh* (sand island) on which the mound rests extends further to the north, and

[1] "Mémoires sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique," p. 138.

[2] "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vii., part 2.

is now a modern burial-place. The mound of the ancient city must have had different levels, which are now difficult to recognize; in some parts it has been dug down to the original sand; while in others there are remains of walls which may be fifty feet high. The eastern part seems to have been higher than the western; and in the north-eastern corner the nature of the soil is quite different. Instead of decayed bricks interspersed with remains of pottery, it consists of enormous heaps of chips of limestone. A few monuments still remain on the spot, and will be noticed later on.

The only excavations hitherto made are due to Brugsch-Bey, who gave some account of his work, and stated his opinion on the name of Tell el Yahoodieh in an interesting paper lately published under the title of "On et Onion."[1] When Brugsch-Bey came to Tell el Yahoodieh for the first time in 1870, his attention had been directed to the place by some very fine enamelled tiles and inlaid ornaments which he had purchased from a dealer at Shibeen el Kanater. He began by excavating a small mound in the longer axis of the city, towards the western side of the Tell. It was about twenty-four or thirty feet high, and near it the Arabs had found fragments of columns and pillars, and traces of an alabaster pavement. Having cleared as much as remained of the pavement, Brugsch there found a considerable number of enamelled and porcelain tiles; but the building itself was so much ruined, that it was impossible to reconstruct the plan. He brought back from this mound 3600 disks of various sizes, and a great number of tiles more or less broken, bearing either flower ornaments, or birds, animals, and portraits of Asiatic or negro prisoners; besides fragments of hieroglyphic inscriptions, giving the names and titles of Rameses III.; also the base of an alabaster column similarly inscribed. All these fragments are now in the museum of Boolak.

Before Brugsch began his excavations, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Greville Chester had explored the Tell: the fine collection now at the British Museum, the principal monuments of which have been elaborately described by Prof. Hayter Lewis in the paper above referred to, is due to Mr. Chester's exertions. As Mr. Lewis rightly observes, this work strikingly reminds us of Persian art, both modern and antique. In Persia it seems to have been made on a larger scale than in Egypt. At present, except the chamber of Rameses III., which was not very large, a doorway in a pyramid, and a few specimens coming from tombs, Egypt has given us no large monuments made in enamelled material; there is nothing such as the large sculptures discovered at Susa by Mons. Dieulafoy.

There is a curious fact about the disks which have been found in such a large number; some of them are inscribed on the back with Greek letters *A*, *E*, *Λ*, *X*, while others bear Egyptian signs. The Greek letters show that strangers were at some time employed in the work. The greatest part of the building was however thoroughly Egyptian in style, as may be judged from the remains of columns still *in situ*. The enamel ornaments, though unusual, cannot be considered as a foreign import, as something similar has already been found in one of the pyramids of Sakkarah. It is not likely that later

[1] "Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne," vol. viii., p. 1.

kings, such as the Saïtes or the Ptolemies, should have taken the trouble to build for their predecessor, Rameses III., such a beautiful chamber, the walls of which were not only ornamented with representations of plants or animals, but also recorded the feats of war of Rameses, and depicted the prisoners he had brought to Egypt. I believe, therefore, that the chamber of Rameses III. was built under his reign and by his order, and that it was damaged in one of the numerous wars or invasions which swept over the Delta. One of the subsequent kings, possibly a Ptolemy, may have had it repaired in the same style by the hands of Greek workmen. The disks which adorned the friezes of the chamber were the pieces the most likely to fall off and be lost; a great number would therefore have to be renewed, and that would account for the fact that it is chiefly on the disks that we find the Greek letters.

When I arrived at Tell el Yahoodieh in the winter of 1887, the chamber of Rameses III. had entirely disappeared. There remained only a mud platform where a few of the alabaster blocks were left, and some bases of columns inscribed with the name of Rameses III. I cut through the platform to see whether it rested on more ancient constructions, but without any result. Not only the chamber, but nearly all the monuments indicated either by Brugsch or by Prof. Lewis have vanished, and I could find no traces of them. Brugsch mentions certain limestone blocks carved with the cartouche of Seti I., which evidently had been quarried out by the natives long ago, just as they are to this day quarrying the basement of the enclosure wall. I looked in vain for fragments of statues of Bast or Sekhet, which, according to the same author, had been brought thither from the temple of Mut in Thebes. I found on the spot only one of the monuments indicated in the plan of Mr. Hayter Lewis, namely, a group of Ra and Tum. The two tanks or baths in limestone, of which Mr. Lewis gives a drawing, are also gone. The only remaining monuments, besides the bases of columns of Rameses III., are the group of Ra and Tum, a standing statue of Rameses II., several pedestals with the names of Rameses II. and Rameses III., a column of Menephtah, and a stone inscribed with the name of an unknown king. Several of these monuments were in a line, and stood on the original sand, as if they had formed an avenue leading to the chamber of Rameses III., the column being, perhaps, part of a gateway at the entrance to the avenue. In the neighbouring villages may be seen many fragments of limestone and granite, most of which bear the name of Rameses III.

An interesting monument was found at Tell el Yahoodieh, about twenty years ago, outside the western part of the enclosure. It was used as a bridge over one of the small irrigation canals. It has been described and reproduced quite independently by Brugsch in his paper, and by Commander Gorringe in his great work on Egyptian obelisks. Both authors agree that it is a representation of the temple of *On*. I give here the description of Commander Gorringe :—[1]

"It is 44·25 inches long, 34·65 inches wide, and 9·25 inches deep. It shows the double flight of steps ascending to the level of the sanctuary. On either side these steps are, first, sockets in

[1] "Egyptian Obelisks," p. 70. The monument is now at New York.

which were formerly set models of the great sphinxes guarding the entrance; higher up, on either side, are marked the positions of the statues of the king and of the two great obelisks. At the top of the steps are again, on either side, sockets for two smaller sphinxes. Beyond these are marked the positions of the two great pylons; in front of these pylons were set tall masts or flag-staffs; on the inner sides of the pylons are seen holes marking the place of the double gate of the sanctuary, beyond which monarchs and priests alone could pass. Farther on are shown the positions of the great walls enclosing the sanctuary, within which were preserved the morning and the evening barges of the god.

"On three sides or edges of the model are sculptures representing the monarch presenting offerings to the deity, and inscriptions in finely-cut hieroglyphics."

Taking into account the large dimensions of the great Temple of On, it seems evident that this monument represented only the forepart of the temple. That it does represent the temple of *On* (Heliopolis) is placed beyond doubt by the hieroglyphic inscriptions. As the stone is not very thick, the king, Seti I., who is seen making offerings, is depicted in a semi-prostrate attitude. The front side is decorated with two of these subjects, showing the king going from left to right and from right to left. In the middle is the name of Tum Harmakhis, the great god of On. On the sides are inscriptions recording how Seti I. raised statues to his father Tum, and describing the stones with which he adorned the sanctuary of On. The whole is therefore a model of part of the temple of Heliopolis, which was made in the form of a table of offerings, on which a hawk, or some emblem of the divinity, was probably placed, surrounded by models of the obelisks and sphinxes erected in advance of the temple.

How did this monument come to Tell el Yahoodieh? Was it brought there from Heliopolis, or was it placed there for any other reason? It is a fact that on all the inscriptions of Rameses III., and most of those of Rameses II., we find no other god mentioned than Tum Harmakhis; and no other qualification is given to him than the "God of On." No other geographical name appears except the name of On, and this circumstance, added to the presence of tables of offerings, has led Brugsch-Bey to the conclusion that Tell el Yahoodieh was the real On, the true Heliopolis which was seen by Herodotus; and that the old city near Matarieh, where the obelisk is still standing, had been abandoned after the Hyksôs period, and remained as a sanctuary more or less ruined, the inhabitants settling farther north.

But was Tell el Yahoodieh really Heliopolis? This important question was one of the chief motives which induced me to attempt excavations at the place. I entertained the hope, which unfortunately proved false, that I might find the hieroglyphical name of the place; but there was another problem to be solved. How far could the tradition be trusted, which says that Tell el Yahoodieh was a Jewish settlement, built at the time when the high priest Onias fled from the persecution of the king of Syria and took refuge in Egypt? Was Tell el Yahoodieh *Onion*, the city founded by Onias? These two points seemed to be sufficiently important to justify an excavation; I consequently settled there early in

February, beginning the work on the Tell itself, near the site of the chamber of Rameses III. I cut through the mud platform on which the alabaster pavement had stood, in the hope that I should reach earlier constructions, but without any result. It was the same with several attempts made in other parts of the mound; they brought no monuments to light. Thus we have but a few monuments to describe, and these give us but little information about the city.

As to the foundation, it is possible that it may go as far back as the Twelfth Dynasty. No monument of that epoch has been seen by other explorers or by myself; but it is a curious fact that a considerable number of the small pots dug out by the natives in different parts of the Tell are of exactly the same pattern as those which I discovered at Khataanah two years ago, and which, from the style of the scarabs found with these, may be attributed to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. They are made of black earthenware, ornamented by lines of white dots. I do not feel so confident about the age of these pots as I did at Khataanah, where there were monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty, and especially remains of a temple of that age. Nothing of the kind is now left at Tell el Yahoodieh, except, perhaps, a broken table of offerings, which is in one of the houses of the neighbouring village.[1] It may be that the larger monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty have been destroyed, but it is possible also that that kind of pottery may be much more recent; it may have been a local fashion, a special style much in use in the eastern part of the Delta, and which was preserved through many centuries like the so-called Cypriote pots found in the necropolis. However, it seems to me probable that the first settlers at Tell el Yahoodieh may have belonged to the Twelfth Dynasty, an age especially distinguished by its extensive building works in all the cities of the eastern Delta, from Heliopolis to Tanis.

No remains of the Hyksôs period have been found here, nor any traces of the warlike Eighteenth Dynasty. The first historical name discovered is that of Seti I., as seen by Brugsch-Bey, as engraved also on a small fragment belonging to Dr. Grant, and as inscribed upon the table of offerings described above. After Seti, his son, Rameses II., would scarcely omit to decorate so important a city with monuments to his own glory. We have a standing statue of this king which was originally placed beside a gateway. In the inscription engraved upon this statue he is said to be a worshipper of Set, the son of Nut, a god to whom several cities of the Delta were dedicated under his reign.[2] The name of the god has been erased, but is still visible. The text contains the usual promises of an immense number of panegyrics.

Another monument of the same king is a group nearly seven feet high, of two sitting figures.[3] On the right is Rameses II., with a solar disk on his head; the head of the figure on the left is broken off, and is now built into the doorpost of the house of a fellah. It is evidently Tum Harmakhis who speaks the following words:—"*I am thy venerable father, the lord of thy beauties. . . . King Rameses, thou art prosperous like Tum in the great hall . . . like Khepra every morning crowned on the throne of Ra in the vestibule of Tum. I am protecting thy limbs every day: thy might and the*

[1] Pl. II. B.

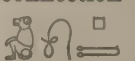
[2] Pl. II. D.

[3] Pl. II. C.

power of thy sword is above all lands. Thy hand is never opposed in all countries, King Rameses, friend of Harmakhis, the great god."

The cartouche of Rameses II. is found also on several bases which must have supported either sphinxes or statues. Menephtah, perhaps, built the pylon at the entrance to the avenue leading to the chamber of Rameses III., for he left there a fluted column with a lotus-bud capital, bearing his name.[1]

By far the greatest number of cartouches found are those of Rameses III., who seems to have had a special connection with Heliopolis, as he put the name of that city in his cartouche. Monuments dedicated by him have already been published by Prof. Brugsch.[2] The inscriptions of the enamelled chamber also recorded his warlike deeds, and represented the captives whom he had brought back from his foreign campaigns. So the granite columns belonging to his reign are still to be seen on the Tell, and fragments are scattered through the villages,[3] but not one of these stones gives us any clue to the name of the city.

While looking at the blocks which were lying here and there in the neighbourhood of the enamelled chamber, I noticed the corner of a granite fragment inscribed with hieroglyphs, which, when cleared, turned out to be a base, or pedestal, on which either a shrine or the statue of a god[4] had originally stood. The arrangement is the same as on the above-described table of offerings. On the front side the king is twice represented as presenting offerings of oil and the Sacred Eye. To right and left stand men with raised hands in the attitude of worship, each having one of the cartouches of the king engraved in the space under his arms. The cartouches have never been met with before, and they represent a king who is not found in the lists. The qualification of *Si Bast, the son of Bast*, and the identity of the first cartouche with that of *Osorkon II.* and of *Pimai*, would induce me to put him in the twenty-second dynasty. But there seems to be no gap in the dynasty, for which we have the nine kings quoted by Manetho. He must therefore be placed elsewhere. But the name of the king indicates another connection with the twenty-second Dynasty.  *Auput* is new in this form; and in my opinion it is only a variant of the name *Auput*, which was borne by several princes at that epoch. One of them is the *high priest of Amon, the king of the gods; the first general, the chief Auput, who is at the head of the great soldiers of the South, all of them, the royal son of King Shishak*,[5] the first king of the twenty-second Dynasty. He is often seen accompanying his father when worshipping the gods of Thebes or Silsilis. He is also known to us as having had access to the hiding-place of Deir el Bahari.[6] He there buried one of the princes, and stamped his name on the braces of his mummy. But I do not think that it was he who took a coronation cartouche, and assumed the royal title. Probably the first Auput never came

[1] Since this was written the fellahs have uncovered the base of the statue of a kneeling man, in limestone. On the back and on the sides are the cartouches of Seti II. with this qualification "the beloved of Tum." (April, 1889.)

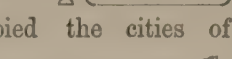
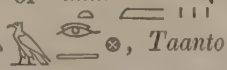
[2] "Zeitschr.," 1871, p. 87.

[3] Pl. II. A.

[4] Pl. I. The stone is now at the Boolak Museum

[5] "Leps. Denkm.," III., 253, 254.

[6] Maspero, "La trouvaille de Deir el Bahari," p. 31.

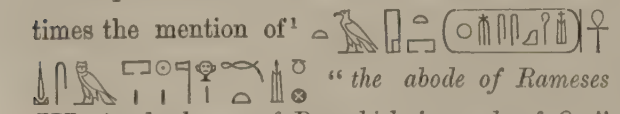
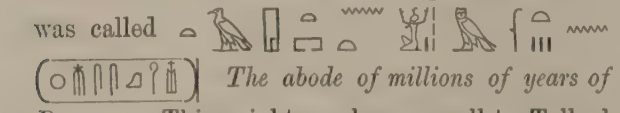
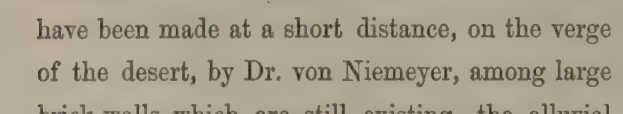
to the throne. I believe the king of Tell el Yahoodieh is mentioned in an inscription of later date, namely the famous text known as the Stele of Piankhi. There, the Ethiopian conqueror gives the names of all the petty princes who had divided Lower Egypt between themselves, and had made a coalition against him. One of them is *King Auput*,[1]  , who is said to have occupied the cities of *Tentremu, the fish city*, and  , *Taanto*; and who, after having been beaten with his allies in the battle of Heracleopolis, came to the king, and submitted himself as his tributary. The two geographical names have not been identified, they are mentioned only in this Stele. I hardly think any of them can be considered as the name of Tell el Yahoodieh. In the inscription of Piankhi, the capital of each king, *i.e.* the most important city over which he reigns, is mentioned first; and in this case it must be *Tentremu*, the *fish city*.[2] There does not seem to be any reason why this name should apply to Tell el Yahoodieh; it probably designates a city near the sea, or near a lake, and *Taanto* must be in the neighbourhood. Tentremu was either in the east near the Red Sea, or more likely towards the coast of the Mediterranean. Auput is mentioned by Piankhi as a king, and his name is enclosed in a cartouche, like that of *Osorkon*, the King of Bubastis, and two others, *Namrath* and *Pefaabast*. His enemy considered him as of royal blood, and it is not extraordinary that on the monuments which he himself erected he should have adopted two cartouches. We may some day find that Namrath, Osorkon and Pefaabast did the same; and if the inscription had been engraved for them, and by their order, instead of being a record of the victories of the Ethiopian invader, we should possibly have seen their names written with two cartouches like that of Auput.

Having failed to discover the hieroglyphic name inscribed on the monuments of Tell el Yahoodieh still *in situ*, we may perhaps find some indication elsewhere. I cannot agree with Brugsch-Bey's idea that Tell el Yahoodieh was the true Heliopolis, whither the inhabitants of the other city migrated, after it had been destroyed by the Hyksôs. The remains of the temple which are still visible at Matarieh, the plan which Brugsch-Bey publishes from the table of offerings in New York, and which belongs to the eighteenth dynasty, do not give the idea of a building in ruins at that epoch; it must, on the contrary, have been enlarged and restored by the great kings of the Theban Dynasties. The sacred enclosure still existing, the obelisk which is yet erect, the remains of the sphinxes at the entrance, all these bear witness to the existence of a temple of great importance, and proportionate to the rank which Heliopolis occupied among the cities of Egypt. We see no traces of a large temple at Tell el Yahoodieh. Nor do I admit that the description given by Strabo can be adduced as an argument against the old site assigned to On. The Greek geographer says: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἡλίου πόλις ἐπὶ χώματος ἀξιολόγου κειμένη. *There is the city of Heliopolis situate on a considerable mound.* It is true that now the mound of Heliopolis is not very lofty, but it must be remembered that it is a place where the surface of the soil has considerably changed. The base

[1] "Inscr. of Piankhi," l. 18, 99, 114.

[2] *Tentremu* is perhaps a variant of *Papremis*, which would be *the house* or *the temple of the fish*.

of the obelisk is only about five feet below the present surface, but it probably stood upon a hill which is no longer noticeable because of the quantity of alluvial soil deposited by subsequent inundations of the Nile. In the excavations which have been made at a short distance, on the verge of the desert, by Dr. von Niemeyer, among large brick walls which are still existing, the alluvial cultivated soil has been found at a great depth below the sand, showing how the surface has been modified; and if we could remove the deposits of centuries, we should probably find that Heliopolis originally stood upon a mound, not perhaps a very high mound, but one which might be called considerable, ἀξιόλογος, because of its great extent.

In the Great Harris papyrus we have a document describing at great length all the buildings erected by Rameses III., and his donations to many Egyptian temples, especially to the important sanctuaries of Memphis, Heliopolis and Thebes. In the detailed account there given of all that was done for Heliopolis, we may expect to find some mention of Tell el Yahoodieh, since it belonged to the province of On; and, in fact, we find three times the mention of[1]  *"the abode of Rameses III., in the house of Ra, which is north of On."* This abode of Rameses had a special name, it was called  *The abode of millions of years of Rameses.* This might apply very well to Tell el Yahoodieh, which was situate north of Heliopolis; also the most handsome building, the enamelled chamber, had certain religious characteristics, though at the same time it might have been the private apartment, the abode of the king. Doubtless Tell el Yahoodieh, like Heliopolis, was dedicated to Ra Harmakhis; we have seen many proofs of this fact; and I know of no other place which might so correctly be termed  , *the house of Ra, north of On.*

The same papyrus mentions the flower-gardens and the herds of cattle which Rameses gave to the *grand house* which he built there, as well as the men he dedicated to the service of the temple, two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven in number. The great temple of Heliopolis itself was served by more than twice as many. It is stated also that *all that belonged to the abode of Rameses in the house of Ra north of On, the buildings as well as the cattle, is under the authority of the priests of Heliopolis, the ueru, for their yearly tribute.* Thus, as I believe, we have found at least one of the names of this city: *i.e.* its sacred name under the Twentieth Dynasty. Its civil name has not been discovered. The monuments on which it would probably be engraved are the dedicated statues of high officials, or inscriptions of Ptolemaic times; but none such have been unearthed. Generally speaking, the tablets of the Greek kings are richer in geographical information than the inscriptions of the Pharaohs; the latter treating chiefly of the great gods of the country, as Set, Horus or Amon, rather than of the local gods. If in addition to Harmakhis there was a local Divinity, a Ptolemaic inscription would certainly have mentioned it in connection with the name of the place of which that Divinity was regarded as king or lord.

[1] Pap. Harris, pl. XXIX., 8; XXXI., 5; XXXII., 8.

THE NECROPOLIS.

The excavations in the Tell itself were so unsatisfactory that there was no object in prolonging them; I therefore moved out to the desert, a mile farther, in the hope of finding the necropolis. Just on the verge of the desert are two villages inhabited by Bedouins. The ground is flat, or slightly undulating, and the bed of the desert consists of a soft laminiferous stone very easy to cut. I here discovered a necropolis of late epoch. The whole ground on which the villages are built, covering a space of more than half a mile in length, and several hundred yards in breadth, is in fact undermined with tombs, which, as usual, have been rifled in ancient times. On the northern side, the rock being of a better quality, the tombs have been cut more carefully and are in a better state of preservation. They are excavated more or less on the same plan as the typical example in Mr. Griffith's plate (Pl. XVI.). There does not seem to have been any construction above ground. Three or four steps lead to a small door giving access to a central chamber, in the sides of which open horizontal niches of the size of a human body. The niches were for the most part empty; in a few instances, however, we found the body *in situ*, without ornament and showing no mummification. Under the head, there was always a burnt brick for a pillow. Wherever the stone is good enough, stairs and doors are well cut; but where it is too soft, there is only a slope leading down to the entrance. The door was originally closed by a limestone slab, and the tomb contained stelæ of the same material, of which we found a few. All had probably been rifled for the sake of the limestone, which is invariably carried away by the fellaheen when there are no quarries in the neighbourhood. The entrances to the tombs were afterwards filled up with sand and blocks of basalt.

The plan and arrangement of these tombs resemble strongly those found outside of Egypt in Phœnicia and Palestine. They are similar to some in the necropolis of Amrith, in Phœnicia, and to certain Carthaginian tombs.[1] They are in fact the favourite type of the Jewish tomb in many parts of Judæa,[2] and are known by the French name given to them by the eminent archæologist De Saulcy, as *fours à cercueils*. This type of burial is described in the Talmud in the book called Baba Bathra, due to the Rabbi Maimonides. The niches are called in Hebrew כוכים.[3] Thus I had some *à priori* reason for conjecturing that I had found a Jewish necropolis. We discovered a few tablets which yet remained in some of the tombs, and the names inscribed on these stelæ confirmed me in this opinion. I removed all these relics, and they are now deposited in the Boolak Museum (Plates III. and IV.).

These tablets strikingly resemble some which were found in the necropolis of Sidon,[4] and are published by Mr. Renan. The architectural ornaments in relievo are the same; the flat surface on which the inscription is engraved having been cut out. It is not only in the general appearance of the tablets, but also in the text of the inscriptions that this likeness is observable. The deceased is addressed in the vocative, with the word χαῖρε, *farewell*. The most frequent epithet

[1] Perrot et Chipiez, "Hist. de l'Art," vol. iii. pp. 148 and 228.

[2] Perrot et Chipiez, vol. iv. p. 359, quoting the leading authorities of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

[3] "Nicolai de Sepulcris Ebraeorum," p. 174, et ff. "Garrucci Cimetero degli antichi Ebrei," p. 13.

[4] Renan, "Expédition de Phénicie," pl. XLIII., et p. 380 et ff.

which is given to him, is χρῆστε, *kind*, as at Sidon; also ἄλυπε, which Mr. Renan interprets[1] not as *painless*, but as *not having caused pain to others*, and being the equivalent of ἀλύπως ζήσας, found elsewhere. He is called πᾶσι φίλε, *loving to all*, φιλότεκνε, *loving his children*, and frequently by a poetical word ἄωρε, sometimes wrongly spelt ἄορε,[2] meaning *who dies before his time.*

They are all very much alike in form, as will be seen from the translation of two.

Plate III. C., *Mikkos, the son of Nethaneus, loving to all, kind, dying before his time, farewell at the age of* 35 *years, year* 19*th, the* 11*th of Paophi.* He died at the age of thirty-five years. He is therefore called ἄωρος. The date of his death is the year 19, the 11th of Paophi.

Plate III. D., *Eleazar*, died at the age of twenty years and five months. I read the last line ὡς ἐτῶν κ μηνῶν ε.

Plate IV. E., *Barchias, the son of Barchias, who caused no pain, kind, farewell at the age of fifty. In the year* 35 *the first day of Choiak, farewell from thy wife and children.* . . .

Plate IV. H., The eleventh year, the 12th of Payni, died a man called *Glaucias*, who had attained the age of 102 years. It is natural that the epithet of ἄωρε should not be applied to him.

Plate IV. I., The inscription of *Salamis* is much defaced. It is dated year 11 (?) IA., and the eleventh of Choiak.

Plate IV. K., A man whose name is erased died at 23, year 11 (?), the third of Tybi.

Plate IV. L., The number M 40, is very likely to be applied to the age of the man who died without children.

Plate IV. G., It is the same with *Agathocles, the son of Onesimos.*

Plate IV. M., is a very small fragment giving the date of the year 27.

Plate IV. O., Θευδ(ωρ)α, *vid.* Renan, p. 384.

I copied from a much-erased tablet the following words referring to a man called Aristobulos:—

ΑΡΙCΤΟΒΟΥΛΕΔΟ . . .

ΑΩΡΕΠΑCΙΦΙΛΕΧΡΗ . . .

Plate III. A., is the top of a tablet of which nothing more is preserved. It bears the Jewish ornament of the grape.

Plate IV. N. does not represent a tablet, but a wall in the tomb, covered with white stucco, on which the names of the mother, *Tryphæna*, and her daughter, *Eiras*, have been painted in red. The bones of both women were in the niches, without ornament of any kind; they were turned towards the east, and they each had a brick under the head, as was the case with all the deceased whose bones were found in this necropolis.

The interest of these tablets lies chiefly in the names they contain. Some of them are purely Greek, and may be found in any country where Greek was spoken: Glaucias, Agathocles, Aristoboulos, Onesimos, Tryphæna, Eiras. But others are decidedly not Greek, and are either Grecized Hebrew or pure Hebrew, so reminding us of names met with in Scripture. Mikkos is Micah; Nethaneus is either Nathan or Nethaniah; Barchias is Barak or Barachiah; Salamis is Salome. As for Eleazar, there can be no doubt about the origin of the man who bore that name.

[1] Renan, l.l., p. 381.

[2] Renan, l.l., p. 383 et 384. The illustrious Hebrew scholar compares the word to the expression בל עתי, *before my time*, which occurs twice in the inscription of Eshmunazar. *Vide* also Néroutzos-Bey, "Rev. Arch.," 1887, ii., p. 212.

Hence we are led to conclude that the necropolis of Tell el Yahoodieh was a cemetery of Jews, and that the adjoining city was therefore a Jewish settlement.

The Jewish character is also apparent in a broken inscription, Plate III. B., which is much longer than the others, and in which there is evidently such an attempt at writing verse as might be made by a man who had little respect for orthography and grammar. The top of the tablet is gone, and the rest is broken in two. I am indebted to my countryman, Prof. Nicole, for the following division of the inscription, which gives the best reading to be made out of it. Prof. Nicole finds in these lines elegiac verse, hexameters and pentameters, but all abounding in mistakes of rhythm and quantity.

. . . με καὶ
νῦν (παρ)οδεῖτα ὁ γεννήσας γὰρ μ– ⏑⏑ πενθεῖ
τηκόμενος ψυχῇ σὺν γένει ἠδὲ φίλοις.
εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, γνῶναι δύνασαι πόσε ἦ ⏑⏑ πίστις
ἠδὲ χάρις καὶ πῶς πάντες ὀδυρμὸς ἔχει·
δεῦρ' ἴθι καὶ ἐρώτησον Σομόηδον νἱον
– ἀώρατος ποταπός.

The deceased addresses the passer-by (παρ)οδεῖτα,[1] and asks him to respect the grief of his father, who still mourns for him. And he adds: *but if thou wilt, thou canst know how great was his faith and grace, and how all are possessed by grief. Come here and ask his son, Somoedos.—He is invisible, where is he?*

If this translation be correct, the deceased invites the passer-by to come where he is and to question *Somoedos*, who is dead also, about his faith and grace. The passer-by answers: *He is not visible, where is he?* It is difficult to give a satisfactory interpretation of such bad Greek. Besides, according to this division, the two last lines would not fit into the rhythm. The last line but one, if we strain the value of the syllables, would give a kind of hexameter; but the two last words are certainly not verse.

However, the Jewish character is visible in the words πίστις καὶ χάρις, which are not usual in Greek epitaphs, and which may be considered as the Greek equivalent of the words חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת,[2] which occur in Hebrew inscriptions. The proper name, *Somoedon*, has also a semitic appearance.

Lastly, if, besides the peculiar characteristics of the inscriptions, we consider the form of the tombs described above, the custom of putting a brick under the head, the total absence of ornaments buried with the dead, and the fact that there are no signs of any process of embalmment, it may be asserted that there are positive facts at the bottom of the tradition which gave to this locality the name of *Tell el Yahoodieh* (the mound of the Jews), or *Turbed el Yahood* (tombs of the Jew), as it was reported to Niebuhr.[3]

Besides the Jewish tombs, there are others of a quite different character. About half a mile farther out in the desert, are several artificial mounds consisting of basalt blocks and sand. The basalt has been picked up on the surface of the desert, where it is found abundantly. In excavating to a small depth at this spot, we found several rows of interments all very similar. The first things discovered were generally two

[1] Froehner, "Inscr. grecques du Louvre," n°. 150.

[2] I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Wertheimer, Rabbi of Geneva.

[3] Vid. "Mannert Geogr.," i. p. 484. The Jewish character of the place would have been best proved by the Hebrew inscription seen by Professor Lanzone. Unfortunately, that valuable monument fell into a canal and was never recovered.

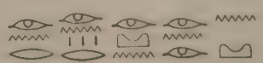
urns of red earthenware (Pl. XIV. 6), about a foot and a half in height. They sometimes contained ashes intermixed with some vegetable substance, and once or twice they also contained a bronze rasp. The urns were the certain precursors of a coffin, as they were nearly always placed on each side of the head, or of the feet. The interment consisted of an outer coffin of large crude bricks, laid horizontally, while two bricks leaning against each other made a kind of vaulted roof (see Pl. XIV.). Inside was a mummiform terra-cotta coffin (Pl. XIII. 2), made of one piece, with a large opening at the head, through which the corpse was introduced. This done, the head was covered with a facepiece (Pl. XIV. 1), on which were modelled the features, the hair, and sometimes the hands. The features were very coarsely executed, in the style of the numerous coffins found in the late cemeteries of Erment or Alexandria. In most of the Tell el Yahoodieh coffins, the bones had been heaped together towards the feet. This was due to the fact that all the tombs of adults had been rifled in ancient times. They had been broken in at the head, the facepiece smashed, the contents of the coffin plundered; the hole afterwards filled in with fragments of basalt. Some few had been imperfectly rifled, for under the roof we found arrowheads, bronze saucers, and some good specimens of so-called Cypriote pilgrim-bottles, besides small pots with a double handle at the top (Pl. XV. 15).

One tomb only had not been rifled; it was that of a child. With the body we found a necklace of porcelain and glass beads, and a ring set with a small scarab. Over the place of the heart was laid a small Cypriote vase, and near the left ear a shell. These graves had probably been rifled for the sake of the scarabs and the rings. On one occasion a workman to whom I had entrusted the clearing out of one of the coffins, brought me a fine carnelian scarab mounted in silver. The stone was very badly engraved with an inscription which is susceptible of more than one construction.

Most of the coffins were painted. The colours, which were sometimes very vivid, soon disappeared after having been exposed to the air. The painting was very coarse, such as we find on mummies of Greek and Roman time. It represented a mummy enclosed in cartonnage; there were hieroglyphed bands dividing pictures of gods such as Thoth or Ptah, or funerary genii with heads of crocodiles. The hieroglyphs are very faulty; in several instances they look as if they had not been intended to be read, but were merely ornamental, and designed to give an Egyptian character to the interment, perhaps in order to distinguish the deceased from the Jews who were buried close by. I have reproduced (Plate II. E.) the inscriptions of one of these coffins, the fragments of which are now at the Boolak Museum. They strike the eye at first sight as being of a very late epoch. The deceased seems to have been called *Khikhi*, and I suppose that the last words upon the vertical bands are intended to be , *beloved of the gods*.

I have copied from the cross-bands the name of another, which I give here with its faulty variants. It is evidently intended for *Osiris Nur*,

, &c.



Another reads thus :—

wherein we may, perhaps, recognize a Greek name ending with *συνη*. These inscriptions show clearly the late epoch of the coffins, which is confirmed by the total absence of any sign of mummification. The exact date is perhaps given on one of the urns (Pl. XIV. 8), which bears a rough hieratic inscription not yet deciphered. It is now at the British Museum. In the hieroglyphs which I collected on these tombs, there is nothing to indicate the name of the city.

A curious fact in connection with these tombs is the discovery of so-called Cypriote pottery. Mr. Petrie had already found similar specimens at Nebesheh,[1] in tombs which he attributes to the Saite epoch; and I am indebted to Prof. Lanzone for the information that when he was in Egypt he saw a great number of such vases which had been found in graves at Benha. This style of pottery may probably be a foreign import; it has, in fact, been found only in the Eastern Delta, and it belongs to a time when Greek or Phœnician influence had been felt in the country. Were these vases made in Egypt, or were they brought there through the extensive trade in vases which was carried on by the Phœnicians?[2] These questions are at present difficult to answer: but it seems that after these vases had been introduced into Egypt, they were commonly used in the late cemeteries where clay coffins are found; and that, while in certain parts of Greece they are to be traced to a relatively high date, they lasted in Egypt down to a very late epoch.

[1] "Tanis," ii. p. 20 et ff.

[2] Perrot et Chipiez, "Hist. de l'Art," vol. iii. p. 667.

The hieroglyphs written on these coffins are so carelessly painted as to make it difficult to assign a definite date to the tombs, although the Greek or Roman period is indicated by the general style. I could readily believe them to be contemporaneous with some of the Jewish burials, which, from the style of the writing on the tablets, must be attributed either to the late Ptolemies or to the early Romans. The deceased buried in coffins were perhaps Egyptian officials, who desired to be distinguished from the foreign population of the city. If we had found them intact, it is very possible that, as in other instances, we should see them wearing amulets of an older epoch. The few scarabs which were brought to us by the Arabs, and which, as they said, were found in emptying the coffins, if they really came from there and not from the neighbouring Tell, are to be attributed to the desire of giving to the burials an Egyptian character. It is often noticeable in mummies of the Greek epoch. M. Maspero discovered at Sakkarah late Greek mummies adorned with beautiful amulets, now at the Boolak Museum, the origin of which can safely be traced to the Twelfth Dynasty. In assigning a date to a coffin there is no more unsafe criterion than the amulets, especially the scarabs.

THE CITY OF ONIAS.

One of the inscriptions of the Jewish cemetery reads *Ὀνιουπατηρ*,[3] and this leads us to ask whether we may adopt the identification generally

[3] Plate iv., F.

admitted of Tell el Yahoodieh with *Onion*, the city of Onias. Our information on this head is derived from Josephus, who, in several parts of his works, relates the history of the foundation of the city and of the temple, with, however, some slight differences of detail.

It was in the time of the bloody wars between Antiochus Eupator and Juda Macchabæus. The Syrian king had made peace with the Jews; but when he entered the temple of Jerusalem and saw how strong it was, he caused the enclosure wall to be razed, and he took with him the high priest Onias, called Menelaus, who was put to death at Berœa, in Syria, by the advice of Lisias, first general of Antiochus. The king replaced him by Alkimos, called also Iakimos, who was not of the family of high priests. The Jewish writer seems to regard the death of Menelaus as a just punishment for his ungodliness. Menelaus had a young nephew also called Onias, son of Onias, an elder brother of Menelaus who had been high priest. When the young man saw that the dignity of high priest was transferred by the king to another family, he fled to Egypt, where he was graciously received by Ptolemy Philometor, and his wife Cleopatra. Josephus assigns his flight to different motives. Now it is because Onias despairs of his country, which is oppressed by the Macedonians, and because he wishes to become illustrious and acquire eternal glory. Elsewhere Josephus explains how Onias was jealous of the Jews who remained in Jerusalem, and how he wished to draw away as many of his countrymen as possible, and to be their high priest, considering himself destined to fulfil a certain prophecy of Isaiah.

The Jewish writer quotes in full the letter which Onias wrote to Ptolemy. Onias says that travelling with the Jews, he reached *Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan Nome*, and other parts of the country, which is remarkable for the great number of its temples, and he adds: "Now I have found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Bubastis. This place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals. I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God after the pattern of that of Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions; that it may be for the benefit of thyself and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages; for the prophet Isaiah foretold that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God, and many other things did he prophesy relating to that place." [1]

The sovereigns of Egypt received the request of Onias most favourably, and gave the following answer:—

"King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias send greeting. We have read thy petition wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis, on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave

[1] "Antiquities of the Jews," xiii. 3.

to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have offended God herein."

These letters are given by Josephus in his work on the Antiquities of the Jews. It is impossible not to be struck by the fact that, like many of the speeches recorded by Thucydides, they reflect the thoughts of the author who quotes them rather than those of the supposed writer. We can hardly give credit to Ptolemy and his queen for their piety which Josephus admires, nor is it easy to believe in the extreme caution with which, in this letter, they cast upon Onias the responsibility of breaking the Jewish law.

In his former work, on the War of the Jews, Josephus had already related the story of the foundation of the city. There Onias pleaded before the king the true political motive for which his request was to be granted: namely, the great advantage which Ptolemy would derive in his wars against Syria by conciliating the Jews, who, having most grievously suffered from Antiochus in their liberty and in their religion, were his fiercest and most persevering enemies. That probably was the reasoning which convinced Ptolemy, rather than the prophecy of Isaiah, or the desire that the religious law of the Jews should be observed.

The temple which Onias built is expressly said not to have been similar to that of Jerusalem in its outward appearance. It consisted of a tower built of stone, sixty cubits in height. The altar and the inner furniture were modelled after the pattern of those in the temple of Jerusalem, except only the candlestick, for which Onias substituted a golden lamp hanging from a golden chain. The whole temple was surrounded by a brick enclosure with stone gateways. Although the fact of Onias having erected a temple in Egypt was the cause of a schism among the Jews, the Jewish worship continued to be celebrated there during a term of 340 years: being respected and favoured by the Ptolemies, who endowed the temple with grants of land. During the persecution of the Jews, under Vespasian, that emperor ordered it to be destroyed. The governor of Alexandria, Lupus, and after him Paulinus, plundered the treasury, expelled the Jews, and shut up the temple, after having obliterated all traces of Jewish worship.

The question now arises: are we to consider Tell el Yahoodieh as the site of the city of Onias? I believe it may be answered in the affirmative with as much certainty as is compatible with the fact that the name was not found on the spot. The necropolis, as we have seen, points undoubtedly to a Jewish settlement; also, the place was in the Heliopolitan nome. The difficulty lies in the details which Josephus adds to the description of the site, and which are mentioned only in the letters.[1] He says that

[1] The following are all the passages of Josephus relating to the city of Onias:—

. . . λαμβάνει τόπον ἀξιώσας ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ, Ant. xii. 9. 7.

. . . εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ ἔθνους, xiii. 3. 1.

ἐπιτηδειότατον τόπον εὑρὼν ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι . . ., id.

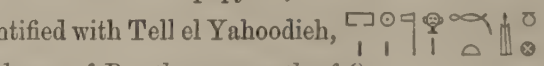
. . . ἐπιτραπῆναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεοντοπόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως, xiii. 3. 2.

Πεισθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς λεγομένοις δίδωσιν αὐτῷ χώραν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Μέμφεως. Νομὸς δ' οὗτος Ἡλιοπολίτης καλεῖται, ἔνθα φρούριον κατασκευασάμενος Ὀνίας τὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ᾠκοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, Bell. Jud. viii. 10. 3.

οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου προσαγορευομένην χώραν κατέχοντες Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι, i. 9. 4.

the place chosen was called *Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan nome*, or *the fort of Bubastis agria*. Brugsch-Bey thinks that the name of Leontopolis is justified at Tell el Yahoodieh by the fact that he saw there fragments of statues of Bast which had been brought from the temple of Mut at Thebes. Those fragments had disappeared when I made my excavations, and nothing which I saw indicated a sanctuary dedicated to Bast. I am inclined to think that in the letters Josephus has mixed together and applied to one settlement circumstances which refer to several Jewish establishments. North of the Heliopolitan Nome was the Nome of Bubastis, *i.e.* the Nome of the lioness-headed or cat-headed goddess. In that Nome were several cities dedicated to Bubastis, and in one of them, the present Belbeis, was worshipped the goddess *Sekhet*, whose name has been translated in Greek, *Bubastis agria*.[1] This city might very well be considered as a Leontopolis, of which there were several in Lower Egypt. Moreover, about six miles south of Belbeis there is another Tell el Yahoodieh, which bears the appearance of a ruined Roman settlement, covered by the sand. The tradition of a Jewish colony has in fact survived in various parts of that district. I might also quote the argument to which Josephus refers twice; namely, the passage in Isaiah (xix. 18):—

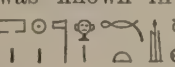
"In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called, The City of Destruction. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord."

The passage states clearly that there was more than one settlement, and it mentions that one shall be called *The City of Destruction*. The margin of the revised version gives the following note on the word destruction: *or, according to another reading, "the sun."* The Vulgate gives *civitas solis;* the Septuagint a word which might be an Egyptian name, πόλις ἀσεδέκ; the Coptic, as usual, follows the Septuagint, ⲧⲃⲁⲕⲓⲕⲉⲇⲉⲕ. The Hebrew is עִיר הַהֶרֶס; while many authorities, among which the Chaldæan and Saadiah, read הַחֶרֶס, *city of the sun*. If this last reading be adopted, it is interesting to notice that it would correspond to the name we found mentioned in the Great Harris papyrus, and which I have identified with Tell el Yahoodieh,  *the house of Ra, the sun, north of On*.

I believe we have the later name of Tell el Yahoodieh in two Roman official documents, namely, the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Notitia Dignitatum. I mentioned above that, in front of the eastern part of the enclosure, just in advance of the two artificial hills, which may have been part of a fortification, and which are separated by a gateway, there are remains of a Roman city, regularly built, where two main streets are distinctly traceable. It has all the appearance of a city where the houses were simultaneously built, and which might have been the abode of a military colony. It was suggested to me by Mr. Griffith that it might be the *Scenæ Veteranorum* of the Itinerary. Taking into account the positions of the other stations, I believe this identification coincides well with the data of the document, allowing always for

[1] The country Bubastis, or Bubastis the huntress. *Vid.* lower, Belbeis.

a margin of error which it is impossible not to recognize when the Itinerary is checked by the sight of actual ruins, and by explorations made on the spot.[1] *Scenæ Veteranorum* is mentioned twice: once on the road from Pelusium to Memphis,[2] at a distance of twenty-six miles from *Thou*, and twenty-four from *Heliopolis;* again when[3] it is said to be twenty-two miles distant from *Heliopolis* and twenty-four from *Thou*, from which it is separated by *Vicus Judæorum*, situate midway between the two. The distance from Heliopolis is at least ten miles too long, even if the lowest number, twenty-two, is considered; it is therefore impossible not to agree with Jomard (who also places Scenæ Veteranorum at Tell el Yahoodieh) in adopting for the first of the above quotations the reading 14 (miles) of several manuscripts, instead of 24 (miles). Another circumstance which induces me to think that Scenæ Veteranorum was the present Tell el Yahoodieh is the importance which the Romans gave to the place. The Notitia Dignitatum tells us that it was occupied by the cavalry of an Arab tribe called *Thamudeni*, and by a wing of *Rhætians*. There is no other place of the size of Tell el Yahoodieh between Heliopolis and Bubastis, and none so strongly fortified and so well adapted to receive a comparatively large garrison.

Summing up the results of this investigation, I venture to conclude that Tell el Yahoodieh was known in the time of Rameses III. as  , *the house of Ra, on the north of On;* this being the sacred name of the city. The civil name has not yet been discovered. After Ptolemy Philometor had granted to the Jews the right of settling in Egypt, and of building a temple, it became *Onion*, or the *city of Onias;* and under the Romans it was called in the official documents *Scenæ Veteranorum*.

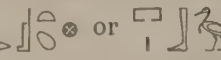
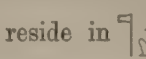
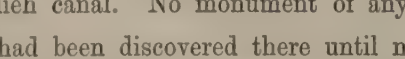
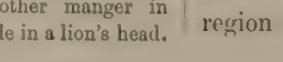
[1] *Vid.* "Store City of Pithom," 3rd ed., Appendix I. and map.

[2] P. 163, ed. Wesseling.

[3] P. 169.

BELBEIS, SAMANOOD, ABUSIR, TUKH EL KARMUS.

BELBEIS.

In the appendix to my memoir on Goshen,[1] I pointed out how important it would be to identify the city of or  which is mentioned in the Great Harris papyrus, as being in the region called *the water of Ra;* as also in the inscription of Menephtah, recording the attack of the Mediterranean nations against Egypt. Brugsch supposes this city to be Belbeis. It was the desire to contribute, if possible, to the solution of this question which induced me to explore the place, which is entirely built on a mound consisting of the *debris* of ancient houses, extending beyond the present city towards the Ismailieh canal. No monument of any importance had been discovered there until now; but in going all over the city, and entering many houses, I succeeded in seeing a great number of fragments of hard stone with inscriptions, from which I derived some information, and some of which are reproduced, plate II. *a*, *b*, *c*. They are very fragmentary. I also found the cartouche of Rameses II., but only on a single stone. All the others are of Nekhthorheb, who there built a temple with a sculptured sanctuary.[2] The broken doorposts (plate II. *a*) show that it was dedicated *to the great Sekhet who resides at Bubastis.* I found also a mention of *Horhiken* (*b*) who is the second god of the Bubastite nome; and a divinity (*c*) who is said to reside in  *sekhetnuter, the holy field*, which is known as being the territory (the) of the Bubastite nome. These scanty remains indicate that Belbeis belonged to the nome of Bubastis, and that the local worship was that of the gods of that nome. There was probably an earlier edifice in the time of Rameses II.; but it may have been of small importance, and after him there is no trace of anything before the reign of Nekhthorheb. These circumstances confirm the identification of Brugsch.  *Bailos in the water of Ra*, was dedicated to Bast, and its temple received donations from Rameses III.; but the account which the inscription of Menephtah gives of the place is particularly interesting. It is said (l. 8) *that the country was not cultivated, but left as pasture for cattle, because of the strangers. It was abandoned since the time of the ancestors.* In fact, no king seems to have built there between Rameses II. and Nekhthorheb. In my former memoir I had identified the country around Belbeis with the land of Goshen; and it is curious to find this passage, stating that the region was  , *left*

[1] "Goshen," pp. 19 and 26.

[2] I saw there also, used as a manger, a stone nearly identical with the fragment of Saft el Henneh, standing as corner-stone ("Goshen," pl. VIII.). Another manger in limestone, of Roman work, ended on the side in a lion's head.

as marsh of cattle, as pasture land, and not inhabited since the days of old; showing that it was no part of an organized province, and could be taken or given away to the first occupier.

It is possible that Belbeis is mentioned in Josephus. As I said before, I believe there is some confusion in the geographical indications given by the Jewish author about the site chosen by Onias. Josephus speaks of the so-called *fort of Bubastis agria*, the country Bubastis or Bubastis the huntress. This name is clearly the Greek translation of *Sekhet*, usually written but which occurs at Bubastis under the form , *the country goddess*, the goddess of the fields or also *the huntress;* as the word , *the field man*, is the common name of the *hunter*. Belbeis may have been one of the Jewish settlements on the Eastern border.

The traditions of the locality point to several Jewish cities. About six miles south of Belbeis, close to the village of *Rhetah*, on the eastern side of the Ismailieh canal, is a large Roman settlement generally covered with sand, but which during three or four months of the year is actively worked by the fellaheen for sebakh. This place, like the large mound near Shibeen el Kanater, is called *Tell el Yahoodieh*, or *Beled el Yahoodieh*. If we refer to the Itinerary of Antoninus, we see it mentioned after *Scenas veteranorum* as *Vicus Judæorum*.[1] The Roman document indicates a distance of twelve Roman miles from Scenas veteranorum to Vico Judæorum, and of twelve miles also from Vico Judæorum to *Thou*. I have given elsewhere[2] the reasons which make me think that the only site which may be assigned to Thou is the extensive field of ruins called now *Shugafieh*, south of Tell el Kebir. In that case, the distance from Scenæ veteranorum to Vicus Judæorum should be two miles too short, and the other at least eight; but that agrees well with the rate of error usually found in the measures given by the Itinerary. Possibly Vicus Judæorum of the Itinerary is the same as *Castra Judæorum* of the Notitia dignitatum, where a cohors of Epirotes was stationed; but I should apply the last name either to the fortified part of Onion, as distinct from the colony of veterans, or to a place like Belbeis, which stood on a high hill, and is likely to have been fortified. If this was so, it is natural to recognize in Belbeis the ὀχύρωμα, the fort of Bubastis agria, of Sekhet, mentioned by Josephus.

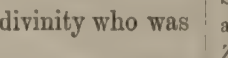
Belbeis is not far from Saft el Henneh, where I had previously excavated, and where I went in the hope that the fellaheen might perchance have found some monument. The son of the sheikh gave me a fragment of a standing statue, of the time of the Saites (plate II. d.) with few remains of text giving the name of Saft: *the house of the sycamore*. It is stated in the inscription that the personage for whom this monument was executed had something to do with the temple of the goddess of *Amem*, the place discovered by Mr. Petrie to be Nebesheh.

SAMANOOD.

Samanood, in Egyptian *Thebnuter*, in Coptic Ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲩⲧⲉ, is the site of the city called by the Greeks *Sebennytos*. It is a city of some importance, situate about twelve miles S.W. of Mansoorah, and is famous for its pottery. It is a curious instance of the changes through which

[1] Linant, "Mémoires sur les principaux travaux," p. 144.
[2] "Store City of Pithom," iii. ed., Appendix I.

the names are apt to go in Egypt. The different strata of populations modified the name not according to its sense in its original form; they did not translate it, they altered it just enough to give it in their language a sense which has nothing in common with the first. *Thebnuter*, the original Egyptian, means[1] *the divine calf;* Ϫⲉⲃⲛⲟⲩⲧ, *the mighty god;* and Samanood, *the sky of Nood.* The Arab name has given rise to a legend which is current not only among the Arabs, but also among the Christian inhabitants. Nood was a great king who built a crystal sky over his palace. My informants so fully believed this story that they assured me that fragments of this crystal were still found in the neighbouring Tell. The large mound which is all that remains of the ancient city lies to the westward of the present town; the site of the temple is indicated by a number of blocks which are nearly always standing in water. Several had been dragged towards the city, and left on the spot where I saw them, several feet deep in water.

Samanood is one of those places in Lower Egypt where the greater number of interesting fragments have been used for building materials in walls and houses, to which I often had some difficulty to obtain access, in consequence of the superstitious fear of the inhabitants. The name of the city, which in the lists of names is written in different ways, always appeared in the same form in all the monuments I saw: *Thebnuter, the divine calf.* The god of the place is *Anhur Shu,* son of Ra  a divinity who was worshipped also in the city of Thinis near Abydos, in Upper Egypt. The god is represented as a man standing, wearing a head-dress of two, or more frequently four feathers, and sometimes holding a lance. The Greeks called him Ὀνουρις, and translated his name by Ares, showing that he was considered as a warlike god. Another form of Anhur was *Horthema.*[2]

No very early monuments are as yet known to belong to Sebennytos.[3] Rameses II. has not yet been discovered. However, the city certainly existed before his time, as its name is one of the fifteen of Lower Egypt mentioned in the list of Seti I. at Abydos. Under Piankhi, as we shall see farther, it was the residence of one of the petty princes who rebelled against the Ethiopian. The oldest monument I saw was a stone, the inscriptions of which are represented on Plate V. It is a sitting statue in black granite, of natural size. The face is destroyed, and all the front of the figure is much defaced. It is lying down with the back upwards before the door of the police station, where it is used as a seat by the soldiers. The text on the back gives us the date of the monument; it is Saite, of the time of Psammitichus I. The titles of the deceased are erased in the vertical column; but they are repeated in the horizontal line and on the sides. He was *the prince of the first order, the prophet of Anhur Shu son of Ra,*

[1] There is some uncertainty about the animal, which is most often a calf, but which is often represented with a long neck like a hind.

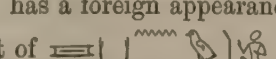
[2] Pl. VI. c. Cf. "Goshen," p. 6. It is Ὀνουρις Anhur who is represented under the face of Mars on the coins of Sebennytos. Cf. Tochon, "Recherches," p. 192 et ff. The animal at the feet of the god, and called a deer (*cervalus*, Zoega), I consider to be the same as in the hieroglyphical name Thebnuter. Cf. Rougé, "Quelques monnaies nouvelles," p. 11.

[3] Since this was written the inhabitants have come across a stone bearing the names of two of the last kings of the eighteenth dynasty, Khuenaten and Horemheb.

Aakanush. On the sides of his throne Isis and Nephthys proclaim his praises, and promise him all kinds of blessings, in the usual emphatic style, of which the words of Isis may be taken as specimen.

"Said by the great Isis, the divine mother: Prince, prophet of Anhur Shu, son of Ra, lord of Thebnuter, Aakanush! here are thy rewards for what thou hast done for me. Years in exceeding great numbers are granted to thee; thou pleasest thine own god; thy statue is standing before him; thou art beloved by every man of thy city, great and small; thy children . . . they are like thee in everything; they will convey thee to thy eternal abode; thou art beloved."

Words to the same effect are uttered by Nephthys, and are also engraved on the back. The horizontal line promises him the usual offerings of food, drink, and frankincense. This part of the inscription may have been added afterwards, for the man does not seem to have been dead when the statue was dedicated.

The most interesting point in the inscription is the name of the deceased: *Aakanush*. It has a foreign appearance. It is a graphic variant of  of the time of Piankhi,[1] who was , *commander of the Libyan mercenaries*, and , *chief in Thebnuter* (Sebennytos), *Pa Hebi* (Behbeit), *and Samhud* (Damietta). He was one of the allied rebels who fought against the Ethiopian with Tafnekht, prince of Sais, the ancestor of Psammitichus who succeeded, about 130 years afterwards, in reuniting the whole of Egypt under his sceptre. The first Aakanush, with the help of his foreign troops, had probably conquered the three important cities over which he ruled. The second was a priest of the first order, and held an important priestly dignity. It is reasonable to suppose that he was a descendant of the contemporary of Tafnekht, and that he derived from his ancestor the high rank which he held under Psammitichus.

Manetho assigns a Sebennyte origin to the XXXth dynasty. I have insisted in another memoir on the considerable number of monuments found in the Delta, which date from the two Nectanebos, and which give a much more exalted idea of their power than we gather from the narratives of the Greek writers. It is not only extraordinary that they should have erected so many large buildings, but that they should have executed them in so beautiful a style, reminding us of the art of the XIIth dynasty. It was natural that Nekhthorheb should not forget his native city; and it is he who must have restored and rebuilt the temple, blocks of which are on the mound of Samanood, or built into the houses. Plate VI. A. gives three fragments of the basement stones of the temple, which were engraved with a list of nomes. Between the figures representing the nomes are large cartouches of Nekhthorheb, fourteen inches high, and in good preservation. I made a paper cast of them. There we find a variant of the name of Nekhthorheb. The sign which one would expect to be *heb* is here distinctly *neb*, and the name reads *Nekhthorneb* or *Hornebnekht mer Anhur*.[2] I at

[1] L. 99 and 115.

[2] Neither Lepsius nor Brugsch-Bey in their books of Kings quote a cartouche of Nekhthorheb where the sign *heb* is ; it is always the large one. Nor is the name of the city of *Heb* written otherwise than .

first thought it might be a mistake of the engraver; but lately I discovered at Bubastis a fragment of a statue on which the name was written thus the god Anhur at the top of the cartouche being broken off. I believe therefore the cartouche of Samanood to be correct; and I should think that it was the original name of the king, who changed the word *neb* for *Heb*, when he had built the important sanctuary, considerable ruins of which are still visible.

About six miles below Samanood are remains hardly inferior to those of San. The immense number of granite blocks, heaped up to a height of twelve or fifteen feet, and the very fine and elaborate sculptures with which they are covered bear witness to the importance of the temple, which is so much destroyed that even its plan cannot be reconstructed. According to Wilkinson, its original length was from 400 to 600 feet. It was dedicated to *Isis, the divine mother;* hence the name of Iseum, under which it appears in the works of the ancient geographers. The Egyptians called it , *Heb*, or *Hebi*, whence the Arabs made *Behbeit* with the affix of *el hagar*, "*of the stones*," because of its great ruins. The sanctuary was called , *the lofty house.* It is curious that this very important temple, which considerably exceeded Samanood in importance, is not mentioned in the lists of nomes, although it belonged to the nome of Sebennytos. Nekhthorheb considered the construction of Hebi as one of the greatest deeds of his reign, as he inserted the name of the place in his own cartouche. It certainly existed before his time, as in front of the sheikh's house I found part of the shaft of a column about two and a half feet in diameter, with the name of Rameses II.; besides, Heb is mentioned in the inscription of Piankhi. There are fragments of a beautiful shrine of Nekhthorheb, while nearly all the innumerable granite blocks which are there are inscribed with the name of Ptolemy Philadelphos. It is doubtful whether this style of granite building can be attributed to a Ptolemy. I am of opinion that the sculptures only are Ptolemaic, while the temple itself was a work of Nekhthorheb, who for some reason or other did not have its walls sculptured. I have reproduced (plate VI.) a fragment of the shrine where Isis is mentioned as a cat goddess with the name *Meht*. She occurs also with the same name at Thinis, the other sanctuary of Anhur.[1] More frequently she is called , *Mehent*, which I found at Bubastis, or , which occurs at Denderah as the form of Hathor in the Sebennyte nome.[2]

To return to Samanood. Besides Nekhthorheb, a king who is frequently met with is (plate VI.) Alexander II., the posthumous son of the great conqueror, and of his Persian wife Roxane; the unfortunate prince who, shortly after he had been recognized king by the rival generals who quarrelled over the inheritance of their deceased lord, was treacherously murdered, with his mother, by Cassandros, in whose keeping he had been for several years. The six or seven years of the reign of this boy-king have left many

[1] Mariette, "Abydos," ii. pl. 39 et 58.

[2] *Thou art Tefnut, the daughter of Ra, loving him, who sees Mehent crowning his head.* "Duem. Geogr. Inschr.," iv. pl. 118.

traces in Egypt.[1] Though practically independent, Ptolemy seems to have been anxious to show that Egypt was still part of the Macedonian empire, and that the empire had a single head; for it was not till several years after the death of Alexander II., when the line of the great king was quite extinct, that he assumed the title of king of Egypt.

Besides these fragments of Alexander, there are Ptolemaic inscriptions. One (plate VI. B.) is part of a hymn to the rising sun, without the name of any king, but in good Ptolemaic characters. Another (E) is very small; it is engraved with the name and the head of Ptolemy Philadelphos, he who covered the temple of Heb with his inscriptions. The text seems to refer to the donation of a piece of land made by the king to the temple, in order to enlarge the sacred domain.

As far as I know, there is only one monument in the museums of Europe which is known with certainty to come from Samanood.[2] It is a fine torso in black granite, now deposited in Paris in the Cabinet des Médailles. It bears the name of Nectanebo II. It was used as a doorpost in a house at Samanood, and carried away by a French general, at the end of the last century.[3] A Greek papyrus at Leyden contains a record of a dream which Nectanebo II. had at Memphis, after which he commissioned a man called Petesios to adorn the temple of Sebennytos, a task which that official conscientiously fulfilled.

Sebennytos is famous as having been the birthplace of the historian Manetho.

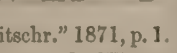
[1] "Leps. Denkm.," iv. 1. Brugsch, "Zeitschr." 1871, p. 1.

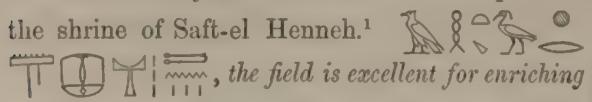
[2] Millin, "Mon. inédits," i. p. 383. "Descr. de l'Egypt Ant." v. pl. 69, 7 et 8.

[3] Since the above was written the statue of Aakanusch has been removed to the Boolak Museum.

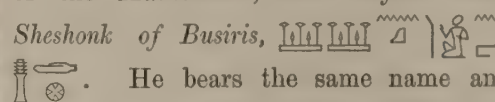
ABUSIR.

A few miles south-west of Samanood, on the same branch of the Nile, is the picturesquely situated city of Abusir. It is nearly as large as Samanood, and is also built on an ancient Tell overlooking the river. At a short distance to the westward is another large mound, which may have been the necropolis, where I saw a few blocks of hard stone without inscription. At some former time there must undoubtedly have been some important buildings at this place, to judge by the considerable number of millstones cut from shafts of red granite columns, which are met with in the streets of the city, most of which are now disused.

My attention was directed to this place by the fact that Mr. Petrie there discovered a block bearing the name of Darius, which is to be brought to the British Museum, but which we have not yet succeeded in removing. It stands in front of the sheikh's house, a large and stately building on the bank of the river. It is a square block of red granite of about three feet in each direction. On one side is a hole, probably for a press of some kind; on the other side is a sculpture, not very deeply cut, which is reproduced on Plate VII. A. It represents a sitting goddess, having above her left hand the emblems of life, stability, and purity, which she promises to give to Darius. The vertical column in front of her reads:—*lord of the two lands, Darius thou reignest over the two lands, thou directest (them) like Ra* . . . Over the head of the goddess is her name, which reads *Menkhetheb*,  , a name which does not to my knowledge occur on any other monument. It may have belonged to a local

goddess of Busiris. The sense of the word is revealed to us by a sentence in the inscription of the shrine of Saft-el Henneh.[1]  , *the field is excellent for enriching* (*menkhheb*) *your altars*. The goddess must be a goddess of riches and abundance. Mr. Poole suggested to me that she might be the Egyptian equivalent of the *εὐθηνία*, who appears on coins of Hadrianus and Antoninus,[2] and is represented as reclining on a sphinx, and holding in her right hand ears and poppies.

Abusir, the *Busiris* of the Greeks, has preserved part of the old Egyptian name, *the house of Osiris the lord of Dad*, . It was a very famous place. Plutarch[3] says that, according to Eudoxos, it was pretended that Busiris was the site of the tomb of Osiris. Herodotus[4] describes the kind of sacrifices which were offered there at the great annual festival; and he adds:—"It is there that the whole multitude, both of men and women, many thousands in number, beat themselves in honour of a god whose name a religious scruple forbids me to mention." The sacred name of the city was *Dad*, ; and it is of frequent occurrence in texts connected with religion or mythology. A great festival was celebrated on the 30th of Choiak, and the hieroglyphic inscriptions seem to confirm the tradition related by Plutarch. I succeeded in purchasing at Abusir a small fragment of green basalt, of excellent workmanship, found in the neighbouring tell, and which is now in the Boolak Museum.[5] It is part of a statue of the XXVIth dynasty of the time of Psammitichus I. The personage represented is said to be *beloved by the gods, the lords of Dad*. He was chancellor of Psammitichus, and in one of the lines occur these interesting words: (to put) *Osiris Dad in his eternal dwelling*, meaning his tomb.

In the bazaar, I also saw a limestone fragment,[6] which is interesting on account of the name it bears. It is part of a funerary inscription for a man called *Sheshonk*. If we again turn to the inscription of Piankhi, so important by reason of the information it gives us about the geography of Lower Egypt, we see that one of the rebel princes who fought against him was *the chief of the Ma* or the *Mashouasch*, the Libyan mercenaries, *Sheshonk of Busiris*,  . He bears the same name and titles as the first princes of the XXIInd dynasty, one of whom, Sheshonk I. (Shishak), very likely came to the throne by the aid of his troops. It is not certain that the funerary inscription of Abusir refers to the enemy of Piankhi, the evidence being too slight for actual identification; the coincidence of names, however, is curious.

TUKH EL KARMUS.

Between the stations of Hehya and Abookebir, on the Mansoorah line of railway, about one mile east of the railway, is a village called *Tukh el Karmus*, which is the property of the family of the late prince Hassan. There is a considerable Tell, which up to the day when we settled there seems never to have been excavated for antiquities. It was even but little worked for sebakh, and the opinion of the natives was that nothing had ever

[1] "Goshen," pl. v. 4.
[2] Zoega, "Num. Aeg.," pl. vi. et x.
[3] "De Is. et Os.," cap. 21.
[4] II 39, 40, 61.
[5] Pl. vii. B.
[6] Pl. vii. C.

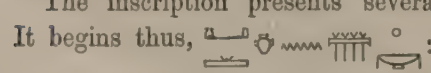
been found there. In this case, they spoke the truth. There never was a more disappointing Tell, in spite of its size and its promising appearance. It consists of a large mound, which on all sides is supported or enclosed by a very thick brick wall. More than half the area on the eastern side is high, and consists of the *débris* of ruined buildings; but the high ground breaks away abruptly in a straight line, and between the old city and the western enclosure wall there is an open space, now covered with grass. I at first thought that it might be a cemetery; it may, at all events, have been consecrated ground. The temple itself was near the eastern wall; the direction of the avenue leading to it is still discernible, as on both sides the buildings slope down towards it.

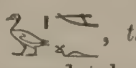
The site of the temple was easy to recognize owing to the great quantity of limestone chips, indicating that this had been the site of a large stone building, and also that lime-burning had been very active. It had been only too active; everything is destroyed, and we did not find a single stone monument. It is especially curious that we failed to discover any fragment of hard stone, statue, or tablet. The temple had evidently not been remarkable for its size or its beauty.

Working on the principle of Mr. Petrie's fine discovery, we looked at once for corner deposits. It was not difficult to trace the foundation walls in all their length. The rectangle which they formed was about 200 feet by 100. Three of the corners gave us deposits, or at least what remained of them, for they had evidently been disturbed. We found one small plaque of gold, another of porcelain, and several of carnelian, but without any sign or hieroglyph giving a date or a name. As deposits are sometimes found near the middle of the temple, we cut a trench through the axis, and we came quite unexpectedly on a large deposit. I happened to arrive just at the moment when the workmen had taken out a number of blue porcelain saucers. I picked out the rest of them, besides several pots of coarse red pottery, four mortars, and four corn-rubbers, and some carnelian pins. The saucers were thirty-two in number. Still there was nothing which gave a clue to the date. Seeing the reward given to his companions, one of the workmen then brought us an enamel plaque (plate VIII. B.) which came from there. It is inscribed with the name of Philip Arrhidaeus. Hence the temple of Tukh must be assigned to a late date, and the time when it was built may account for its having been so small and devoid of ornament.

The place, after all, may not have been of a sacred character. It somewhat resembles a fortress, with its high walls, and the great number of storehouses still standing. Some of these are near the temple; others are on the hill near the entrance. They are curiously constructed. They consist of a square chamber inside of which a round one has been built. Though we cleared several of them nearly to the bottom, nothing was found except coarse pottery. Near the entrance we found the most interesting object discovered at Tukh; a large pottery vase in blue enamel, having a hieratic inscription in black burnt into the paint, and a figure of Harmakhis sculptured in relievo (plate VIII). The vase, which is now at the Boolak Museum, is above a foot high. There are some curious errors in the signs, for instance in the name of Osiris. The whole inscription reads as follows:—

"The gift of a vase of *thehen* and gold, to the great Isis, the divine mother, in favour of the good chief of the (?) *Pauarma*, by his son *Horemsa*, the son of *Penhna*, year 30 (?)."

The inscription presents several difficulties. It begins thus,  : *the gift of a vase of thehen and gold.* Thehen and gold are substances which are often put together, and of which amulets were made, for instance the dad. But, what is *thehen?* It has been translated in several ways. Lepsius[2] considers it as being a precious stone, *topaz*, or an imitation of it in glass. Brugsch, after having first translated it by *bronze*, or a *kind of bronze*, interprets it now as *glass*. Whatever material it was, it is certain that its colour was yellow. It is therefore hardly possible to consider it as referring to the substance of which this vase is made, blue porcelain, so hard and thick that it has come down to us quite intact, without even the ridge of the neck having been the least damaged. It is not very likely that it was this vase which was offered to the goddess Isis, called *the divine mother* as at Behbeit; or it would have been found near or in the temple, and not amid brick constructions, which may have been either houses or storechambers. I should think that when this offering was made, the large vase was made also, and kept in the house of the donor as a record of the magnificent gift he had brought to the goddess. Or perhaps, according to the vertical inscription , it was a present offered to Osiris, while the more valuable vase described in the horizontal lines, was for Isis.

Another difficulty lies in the genealogy of the persons named. It is said that the donation is made in favour of *Pauarma by his son Horemsa*, the same who is said to be the *son of Penhna*. How can this be? The only solution I can propose to this embarrassing question is to suggest that in the first case the word "son" must not be taken in its literal sense, but as a kind of title like  , *the son who loves him*, a well-known sacerdotal rank of one of the funerary priests.

The real interest of this inscription lies in the name *Pauarma*. Here again we have to refer to inscription of Piankhi.[3] When the Ethiopian sovereign hears of the rebellion of Tafnekht, he orders the two commanders of his troops in Egypt, to march against him. One of them is , the same name, with some slight graphic variants, as we have on the vase. After the successful termination of the war, it is the same man, , *the general Pauarma*, who receives the submission of the vanquished princes. It seems to me very likely that the Pauarma of the inscription and the Pauarma of the vase are one and the same. In both cases he bears a military title. Here he has the determinative of foreigners; but it is not possible to decipher the name of the people of whom he is said to be the chief, and who might be mercenaries. I do not know to which reign belongs the date 30 or more, which is at the end of the inscription.

No other valuable antiquities were found at Tukh el Karmus, except a pair of bronze tongs now at the British Museum, which come from a high building behind the temple, probably connected with the sanctuary.

[1] Naville, "Les quatre stèles orientées de Musée de Marseille," p. 20.

[2] "Die Metalle," p. 125.

[3] L. 8 and 140.

THE

ANTIQUITIES OF TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH,

AND

MISCELLANEOUS WORK IN LOWER EGYPT DURING THE YEARS 1887—1888.

BY

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

INTRODUCTION.

For antiquarian research, Egypt is a land that is quite unsurpassed. The valley of the Nile has hidden in its sandy borders a continuous series of relics, of perhaps the earliest civilization that the world has seen, abundantly illustrated by contemporary writings, and preserved in some cases for 6000 years, not indeed by a miracle, but by an almost rainless atmosphere. If any European country had been so endowed, what a marvellous and authentic picture of ancient history would have been revealed to us through the labour of industrious antiquaries! Unfortunately for its past, Egypt is not the fatherland of Germans, Switzers, Frenchmen, or Scandinavians, but of an oriental race which seems to stand almost impassive before the wonderful works of its predecessors, and is ready to destroy them on the slightest pretext. Yet so abundant are the treasures of that country that it has presented us with certainly a most wonderful series of records. It has been the hunting-ground of collectors who have secured many beautiful and striking monuments. The inscriptions especially have had a singular attraction for those who delight in linguistic and graphic puzzles. One great expedition after another, one scientific tourist after another, has gathered a harvest from the writings of tomb and temple, and a great mass of such materials is already available for historians to use with confidence.

Now, when the philologist has firmly outlined the history, is a golden opportunity for the antiquarian to fill in the details, and show the progress and vicissitudes of culture, its action and reaction upon surrounding nations. A century ago the monuments were far more complete, the greed and haste of the collector and the dealer, of the factory builder and the "discoverer" had not united in Egypt as in every other country to spoil its choicest monuments, and tear up and waste its records. But still the present *is* the golden opportunity. Egypt is easy of access, labour is very cheap, the native labourers are manageable. The antiquarian spirit that now pervades Europe and America has been of slow growth, and only lately has become sufficiently catholic to take an interest in foreign and extra-Hellenic lands; but the connection of Egypt with Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, and Greece, is being more clearly shown each day, and there is no need to prove the worthiness and many-sided interest of the field of research, increased a thousand-fold by the ease with which the hieroglyphics are interpreted.

Half-hearted, hurried excavations, apart from the positive harm they do, are almost worse than useless for science. It is a misfortune, inherent in the nature of most archæological evidence, that it can be made available only by its own destruction! A grave is excavated, and in the course of

that excavation the connection of its contents, forming the most important item of the evidence, is hopelessly disturbed, and it will depend entirely on the observation and records made by the individual excavator at the moment of discovery whether any profit is to be derived from the exploration. An inscribed stone or a papyrus is, happily, not so constituted, and with ordinary care can be made to tell its tale from century to century; errors in the copy of a document may always be corrected, but the observations of an excavator can be proved false only by a painful balancing of evidence.

With regard to Egyptian archæology in particular, it is certain that at present we are very much in the dark, and that strange surprises await us. Mr. Petrie's discoveries at El Lahûn this year—the work of a master in the art of exploration—give a glimpse of what we must expect. For my own part I am determined on reasonable evidence to accept everything that comes as a fact until disproved, but not to hope that any of these bare facts will be explained immediately. Coins, Chinese glass bottles, sprouting corn, certain inscriptions, and certain modern inventions alone are to be excluded from the rule that whatever opinion one may have as to the age of objects, the Egyptologist's mind should always be open to conviction.

The archæologist who wishes to make a steady advance should take a work like Canon Greenwell's "British Barrows" for his guide, and be content so to arrange his operations that only one grave at a time is actually opened, and always in his presence. One fairly productive grave well described is worth far more for science than a hash of fifty. It would perhaps be too much in the brilliant field of Egyptian archæology to expect the painful minuteness of *description* which is necessary in a record of British barrow-digging, but the observations, if not always recorded singly, should at the time be as painstaking as in the monumental work which I have just mentioned. It must be understood that the explorer's method varies according to circumstances; a single person may without fear employ 200 men on one occasion, while on another, and, in my opinion, more frequently a score of hands are as many as a person of ordinary activity can manage by giving them his whole attention during the working hours.

It is perhaps impossible to stop the depredations of the Arabs, but it is incumbent upon us at home to encourage the most careful of our explorers to be yet more exacting and minute in their difficult researches, carried on in a somewhat trying climate; and above all to see that a rising generation is trained to exploration in accordance with the highest standard of archæology.

The present memoir may be divided into two sections; in the first I have attempted to describe, from an antiquarian point of view, the results of work at Tell el Yahûdîyeh and Tûkh el Qaramûs during the season of 1886-7. In the second are recorded some minor explorations which I was commissioned to undertake by myself in the following season. Besides the sites which I have there mentioned, I visited the ruins of Canopus at the kind invitation of Mr. William Grant, who has prosecuted with so much energy the scheme of reclaiming Lake Abû Qîr. Everything visible there dates from the Roman occupation, excepting some Saite sphinxes that lie just

covered by the waves amongst the ruins of a quay. The engineers of the English company had converted a modern circular fort into substantially comfortable headquarters, and there I was hospitably entertained by them.

The journey to El 'Arîsh was a more ambitious undertaking. The interesting reports of Mr. Greville Chester, the pioneer of research in this direction, and of Professor Sayce, have made known the present condition of the ancient caravan route to Syria, and the communication of Professor Robertson Smith in the *Academy* (Feb. 1888, p. 133), has invested it with fresh interest by bringing into focus the testimony of Arab authors. A few more notes from a tourist's point of view may not be unacceptable.

Leaving our encampment on the 30th March, I started from Tell Basteh with a camel and its Bedawi driver, and my rêyis Saïd. Our hasty outfit consisted of my much-tried and much-mended tent, which had recently been split from side to side in a heavy gale, three saddle-bags, with clothes, books, tinned meat, and oranges, my blankets, two spades, and a *fâs*, together with sundry cooking utensils, roped, pinned, and hung about the camel's back.

Half way through Zaqâzîq, we were joined by another camel. Some of the baggage was transferred, and a comfortable platform arranged with the blankets. Our cavalcade being thus completed, we took turns in sitting on the platform, and so moved on steadily.

Following the railway, we stopped first at Faqûs. At that season the feature of the country was the abundance of thistles in flower, large and small, purple and white, occupying the waste grounds on the canal and railway banks, and patches of desert-like sand about Gezîret abû Yesîn. These thistles swarmed with insects, amongst which was the cosmopolitan "painted lady" (*Vanessa Cardui*), and a much finer butterfly which seems to have no relative in England. At midday I saw two beautiful pink and green *Deilephila* hawk moths hovering over them. In no other place have I seen so many large insects. Locusts were flying like birds, starting up three feet in front, and flying perhaps twenty yards at a time.

From Faqûs we continued our journey to Salḥîyeh, the monotony of the Delta scenery (?) being broken at one spot, where we passed by a bridge over one narrow streak of great beauty, a canal half choked with tall reeds, the open patches covered with lotus flowers, and swarming with water hens and wild duck. May the hand of the improver long spare it!

Reaching Salḥîyeh, we were fairly in the desert, and so continued to the end of the journey, for more than a hundred miles. At Qanṭareh we crossed the Suez Canal, but civilization never left us, for had we not the telegraph wire to point out our road, and measure it by its scale of twenty poles to the English mile?

Most of the route is bad, traversing soft sand and often high ridges of shifting sand. The best part is over the *sibâkh* (singular *sabkheh*) or salt-plains near the coast, where the surface is hard and absolutely level. Lake Serbonis, which was such a terrible name to caravans and armies in ancient times, is now nothing but a soft, damp sabkheh. Its length and width will, however, always make its neighbourhood formidable, owing to the absence of herbage. This lake, now called sabkhat Berdawîl or Baldwin's Salting, was

supposed to have swallowed an entire army of Persians in its treacherous quicksands. Being at the worst point of a difficult journey, and lying just at the side of the route, tales naturally gathered round it, and were amplified by the story-tellers of the caravans. Herodotus relates that Typhon was supposed to dwell there. Diodorus is the authority for the equally mythical Persian disaster, and the Arabs of the last few centuries have a tradition that a pagan giant named Berdawîl dwelt in a stronghold on the borders of the lake, but was attacked and slain by the national hero, Abû Zêd. This myth, it is well known, has grown round a little nucleus of truth. Baldwin, the crusading king of Jerusalem, called Berdawîl by the Arabs, in the midst of a successful raid into Egypt, fell ill, and hastening to return from Pelusium, died before his bearers came to El 'Arîsh. His body was embalmed then and there, and was taken to Jerusalem, but the entrails were buried on the spot. The Arabs still cast stones upon his tumulus, calling it by error "'Aḍm Berdawîl," or "the *bones* of Baldwin."

Unfortunately I knew little or nothing of this Arab myth, otherwise I should perhaps have taken more pains, in spite of the lack of time, to visit the site of Baldwin's castle. According to the Archduke Ludwig of Austria, there are ruins close to the spot where I saw the "'Aḍm Berdawîl," but the information I received pointed to a Qaṣr Berdawîl or "castle of Baldwin" further north. I trust that my good friend at Qanṭareh, Signor Paoletti, will soon set this question at rest.

Over most of the route there is plenty of herbage, giving excellent food for camels, which are bred in great numbers. There are many wells of brackish water, generally sunk where the surface is about five feet above the water level, so that the water may be shaded from the sun, the mouths being kept open by a lining of split palm logs. The principal wells have plenty of clear and clean water, but they are all very brackish. Coffee made with it is scarcely drinkable, and sugar is of course unbearable in it. Bîr el Mazâr, the last well before El 'Arîsh, was so salt that our camels would not drink: those who know take enough water for two days at Bîr el 'Abd. The Badawîn who pasture camels at Bîr el Mazâr make use of their milk, and only occasionally obtain a draught of water by begging it from the travellers. The brackish water, so far as I could tell, and I had little else to drink for three days, is perfectly wholesome, but unpleasant, and does not fully satisfy one's thirst. The Arabs carry it in a skin which is well smoked from time to time: it requires further efforts to become reconciled to the flavour imparted by the smoking.

Insects abound. Of butterflies the painted lady swarms, and is found even in the most dreary sibâkh. Of moths, the English entomologist would recognize Deiopeia pulchella, which is fairly common, with plenty of crambi and knot-horns (Phycidæ). Some kind of Acontia is also very common. Walking along the shore, I saw several large black Agrotis actually settle for an instant on the sea. Of beetles, scarabs were the only creatures I could recognize. Some kind of snail *Helix caperata?* swarms in the driest places. The shrivelled animal melts, revives, and crawls about after a heavy dew or rain.

It was on this journey that I first made acquaintance with a number of oddities, such as land tortoises and chameleons; the latter show the

most fearful temper when they are first caught, but afterwards feign death. They are, I think, the *most* curious creatures I have ever seen. The crabs make a good second to them. They are amphibious, and as one walks along the shore, suddenly half-a-dozen are landed by a wave twenty feet ahead. As soon as they see a person approaching, they either bolt up to their holes in the sand, which are situated perhaps twenty yards in shore, or else scurry back again into the sea. They stand very high, and move at a prodigious rate, so that it is almost impossible to run them down even in open level ground. The way in which they take advantage of a wave for landing, and also for getting into the sea, is most amusing. When landing, they appear all in an instant, five or six together, and run up the bank. When they bolt for the sea, they shoot down the bank, crouch as a wavelet comes near, and start again as soon as it covers them. A cautious old crab will never allow itself to be taken off its feet, but a hare-brained youngster will rush full tilt into the middle of a wave, and be thrown head over heels in an instant.

To chase the crabs, to snatch at the dogfish which, thrown up by each wave, invariably struggle back into safety with the next, are necessary diversions, for the interesting points on the shore are few and far between, and the horizon is very limited. Yet that shore is sacred to the memory of Pompey the Great, who met his cruel fate at Casius; and between El 'Arîsh and Pelusium we search for the ruins of Ostracine, "the city of shells": the tomb of Pompey and the temple of Zeus Casius: the camp of the Athenian Chabrias, and the station called by some Pentaschoenum, by others Gerrha.

TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH.

Tell el Yahûdîyeh,[1] "The mound of the Jewess," (about two miles south-east of Shibîn el Qanâṭir on the railway from Cairo to Zagâzîq, and about fourteen miles from Cairo) stands on the south-west end of a sand *jezîreh*[2] about one mile from the edge of the desert.

The principal archæological features of the place are contained in: (1) *Et Tell el Kebîr* "the great Tell," which consists of the remains of the ancient town and fortifications. The town was protected by a ditch and lofty bank of sand, and on the east (if not on all sides) these were doubled. Inside the fortifications besides ordinary town debris, are the remains of graves of the middle kingdom and some stone relics of an important building, probably a temple, which was adorned by Rameses II. and his successors with large statues, and to which Rameses III. added a beautiful little pavilion? of which the porcelain and alabaster decorations have given such a special interest to the place.

The enclosure[3] is actually five-sided, but forms approximately a square of 1000 feet. It has been deeply excavated by the *sabbâkhîn* or manure-diggers, but lofty pillars of solid debris remain here and there, indicating the elevation which the city reached in Roman times. The rubbish slopes up on all sides to the fortifications, but in the central part little remains beyond heaps of pottery from which the dust has been sifted, half concealing the granite monuments of the temple. The *fellâḥîn* have even in some places laid bare the soft stone that closely underlies the sandy surface: on the other hand, further west, down the slant of the jezîreh, they have almost reached water level without passing below the Ramesside stratum.

2. On the jezîreh east of the enclosure is a stretch of shallow ruins called *Et Tell es ṣuġaiyer*, "the smaller Tell." This was once a Roman (-Jewish?) suburb, laid out in an orderly manner with streets crossing at right angles. Of the two main thoroughfares one led direct to the east gateway of the enclosure, the other was in the line of an important building of the same date which stood on the top of the eastern rampart, and was perhaps the citadel of the Roman garrison.

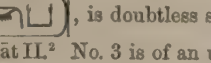
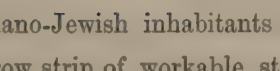
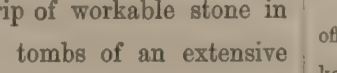
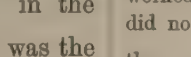
Of the remaining space a large part was filled with interments of the middle kingdom, Saite, and other periods, but the decomposed rock which underlies them has attracted the sabbâkhîn and thus most of the graves have been removed.

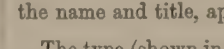
3. On the extreme edge of the desert, opposite

[1] See Note **A**.
[2] See map Pl. ix. and Note B.
[3] See rough plan in Pl. ix.

the Tell, the Romano-Jewish inhabitants of the town found a narrow strip of workable stone in which they cut the rock tombs of an extensive cemetery. In other parts the desert sand lay either on red sand or on basalt, and in the flourishing times of the XXth dynasty it was the custom to hide the painted coffins in heaps of stones or tumuli above the surface level.

The earliest dateable antiquities from Tell el Yahûdîyeh are of the middle kingdom. Two of the graves which we opened in the jezîreh contained some of the peculiar black pottery of that period, but most of our pottery scarabs and flints were bought from the fellâhîn who were digging in the Great Tell. They were found at the base of the town-remains in the east-central part of the enclosure. I examined these diggings several times and we dug two or three pits in the same part, finding fragments of bones with one or two flints in the dirty sand which thinly covered the rock. The town spreading over this cemetery had disturbed the graves, and few of the pots were found perfect by the sabbâkhîn.

Scarabs—of these in pale steatite with white nacreous surface I purchased about fifty that may safely be attributed to the middle kingdom, and I saw several others. See Plate x. (where No. 15 only is doubtful as to period). Perhaps also Pl. xi. No. 12—14, and 17, 18; also Pl. xvi. 15, 16. I have in some cases noted the form of the head. In dark steatite unglazed there are three scarabs, Pl. x. 9, 27, 31; in soft dark green limestone one, and in amethyst three. A large piece of unworked amethyst shows that they were probably made on the spot. One, Pl. x. 1, reads , i.e. Usertesen I. [friend of ?] Ptah.[1] Dr. Grant has a note of purchasing one of the same king on the spot, in 1878. Another device, No. 2,  , is doubtless suggested by the cartouche of Amenemḥât II.[2] No. 3 is of an unknown queen,  Tauta (?).[3] The next is of a high official  , 'The chancellor, the keeper of the seal' Ḥa ūr? or Ḥar? His scarabs are well known,[4] and it would be interesting to localize them. A well-worked specimen, with a unique legend, which I unfortunately did not copy, was kept at Bulaq. It can be identified by the name and title, approximately,  .

The type (shown in Pl. x. 7 and 8, cf. also xvi. 15) of a lion overpowering a crocodile in the presence of the sun, seems to be referable to a myth embodied in the Edfû inscriptions, according to which Horus of Mesen (as the lion) slew the Asiatic enemy (crocodile) of Harmachis (the sun).[5] This is a fragment of the local mythology of  (Heracleopolis Parva?), and may well have influenced all the towns on the eastern border.

The patterns upon some of the scarabs are tasteful, but usually without meaning, and show the ignorance of the engravers, who frequently reduced characters and groups to nonsense without thereby improving the designs: while finer workmen introduced wrong signs for the sake of effect.

Flint flakes and instruments were numerous. In colour they are pale yellowish grey, slightly translucent, and often show a portion of the white outer crust. Some are broad, thin and irregular in outline, about 3 inches × 1¾; others are slender, flat on one side and doubly ridged on the other, measuring from 3 inches to 1½ in length. The tiny flakes, as found at Helwân, are absent. One knife is moderately well chipped. Several are serrated along one edge, which is often much polished by use. The thin-edged specimens of this variety may have been used as saws, but many specimens have a more or less blunt edge and must be scrapers.

The largest implement is a well-formed axe 5 inches long, which I picked up amongst the waste heaps of pottery rejected by the sabbâkhîn. If its situation could be absolutely trusted, it was Ramesside or later, but as its colour was similar to the above flakes, it may have been dropped there recently by a workman.[6]

Pottery.—To find this in anything like a perfect state is extremely rare except in graves and burnt houses: the ordinary rubbish mounds and house remains contain only sherds. The fact, therefore, of the pots being offered to us more or less complete, together with scarabs and flints as at Khata'neh, affords fair proof of their having been found together in graves. The early date of all is shown by their complete absence from our numerous excavations and researches amongst remains that are known to be late, and by their presence deep under Ramesside rubbish; apart from the legends and style of the scarabs.

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[1] This is also figured by Flinders Petrie, "Historical Scarabs," London, 1889, No. 180.

[2] Cf. Hist. Sc., No. 205, ff.

[3] Figured Hist. Sc., No. 100.

[4] Cf. Hist. Sc., No. 449, ff.

[5] Naville, Mythe d'Horus, Pl. XVIII. l. 3.

[6] See Note C.

The pottery that we purchased is exclusively of black ware (except the tawny fragment mentioned below), although M. Naville's discoveries at Khata'neh[1] show that red ware may be looked for in the graves at the same period. The colour is brownish black, inclining in places to tawny. The vases are ornamented with punctured patterns imitating the branches of a palm? or the leaves of some kind of herb? The leaf either hangs from the neck of the vase, or rises from the foot, or encircles the body. In the latter case it often assumes the appearance of herring-bone pattern. Judging from the appearance of some examples, the punctures may have been filled with a white paste. *After* the ornamentation had been completed (often very coarsely), the remaining level surfaces were polished by strokes, either vertical or horizontal. The six examples in Plate xi. show the types, 1 being the commonest.

Ten specimens were collected as follows:—

1. Two specimens very similar; another from grave 3 in the jezîreh is much larger ($5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high) and coarser. A fourth specimen is intermediate between 1 and 2.

2. One specimen.

3. (Neck broken away) two specimens; upon another of much larger size the bands of ornament consist of leaves placed upright and modified as on 6. Another has dotted lines radiating from the neck and foot.

4. One specimen.

5. One specimen. Two others more drop-shaped, i.e. narrowed in the upper part of the body.

6. One specimen. The palm-leaf pattern is here considerably modified.

We opened two early graves in the jezîreh. Grave 3 was much disturbed by Roman building, and the pottery was crushed. It contained the fragments of two coarse, black, punctured vases (types 1 and 3); plain saucer of red-ware without rim but base flattened like that in Pl. No. 10: and the lower half of a vase resembling in shape and size type 3 (of the black ware), but of fine, polished, pale yellow-red ware painted above the keel with horizontal circles in black. This ware does not occur amongst the specimens from Khata'neh. In colour it resembles the pilgrim bottles of the twentieth dynasty. No scarabs or flints were found, possibly they were overlooked. This grave presented a most unpromising appearance; it had been turned upside down, and the potsherds of the Romans were mixed with the earlier fragments. It (and the next) lay at the N.W. corner of the Roman suburb. Some of the later graves were close to it, but most were situated further east. Our working of these early remains was very insufficient, and I suspect that a still more ancient cemetery might be found further west, i.e. partly under water.

Grave 2. The pottery lay close to an arched grave of the usual pattern (see Pl. No. 17) built of bricks $6\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ inches, but it is possible that as the cemetery was used at subsequent periods, the brick grave is later and the bones of the early interment had disappeared. The pottery is all of plain red ware; deep jar, nearly as Pl. xv. 4, but more pointed at the bottom, a pot, Pl. xi. 11, resembling those from Khata'neh: and a rude saucer. Also a small bottle Pl. xi. 9 of yellowish white ware, slightly polished, with serpentine and other patterns in brown. The mouth of it, 9a, is very different from that of the black ware, which is always like 7. The curious pointed ear or handle 8, broken from a bowl, was purchased from the sabbakhîn. The ware is polished, dark tawny. It is necessarily earlier than the twenty-sixth dynasty, and may be of the twelfth.

We purchased also two kohl pots, in alabaster and obsidian, which I believe were found in a grave in the Great Tell. The alabaster vase Pl. xi. 15 furnishes a curious instance of the devices by which the Egyptians avoided technical difficulties. Instead of hollowing the body through the narrow neck, they made the latter in a separate piece, and cemented it to the body when that was finished. The cement is now decomposed. A stopper also fitted into the neck.

Of the early town we found no distinct traces. It probably lies below water level in the western part of the Tell. At Kafr esh Shôbak is a fragment of sculptured basalt that looks early. It is half of an altar, with and cakes on the top in the usual style. The corners of the altar were formed by tall wine vases, looking like ornamental pillars. An inscription ran round the edge, but all the cartouches were upon the missing half. The act of homage terminated with *mer*, &c. There is no geographical name like this known in the Delta. It occurs occasionally in the titles of the goddess of the south, , but regularly in those of . The pyramid of El Kûleh stands close to the twin cities of El Kab and Kûm El Aḥmar, , and suggests a royal residence there. This altar, if it had been perfect, might have solved an important question.

The name of the Hyksos king, Apepi, has also been found at Tell el Yahûdîyeh.[2]

We must now pass on to the XIXth dynasty, represented by Seti I., Rameses II., Merenptah and Seti II.

Seti I.—Dr. Grant has a fragment of greenstone with his cartouche which he picked up in 1878. It is noted in the plan which accompanies Professor Hayter Lewis's paper on this site.[3] E. Brugsch Bey has published a curious monument, stated to have been found only a few yards outside the enclosure, recording the building of a temple of Tum *in* (sic) On (Heliopolis) by Seti I., and the erection of pylons, sphinxes and obelisks,[4] but this can hardly have had any original connection with the place. The temples of Heliopolis were the chief source from which the Romano-Egyptians in

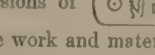
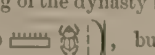
[1] See below, pp. 56, 57.

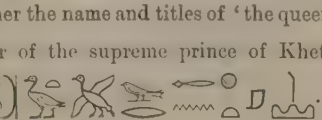
[2] G. J. Chester in P.E.F. Quarterly Statement, 1880, p. 138, where for Sheshonk I. read Sheshonk II.

[3] Transactions S.B.A. vii. p. 177, ff.

[4] Rec. de trav. 1886, vol. viii. p. 1, ff.

the Delta drew their supplies of granite and other hard stone.

The only trace we found of Seti's name is on the steatite scaraboid Pl. xi. 20, which seems to give several blundered versions of  . 19 of glazed pottery, is of very fine work and material, and may also be placed at the beginning of the dynasty? No. 26 bears the name of Thothmes IV.  , but I believe is not earlier than the twentieth dynasty.

Rameses II. is represented in the temple by a group of two disk-capped figures in red granite, with an inscription on the back referring to the gods of Heliopolis. The head has been broken from one of the figures, and now supports the corner of a wall at El Umrêj. The only other record is the interesting pendant of steatite Pl. xi. 21[1] which I bought in the ruins, bearing the cartouches of Rameses II. on one side, and on the other the name and titles of 'the queen *Maat mefru Rā*, daughter of the supreme prince of Kheta  .

The same queen is found at Tanis.[2]

Of *Merenptah* there are two monuments, viz. a double group in red granite of the king with Set, from which the upper part of the god has been carefully chiselled away; and a small column 15 feet high, now broken in half. The latter is of the usual lotus bud type with octagonal clustered shaft, but has been cut down nearly through the centre, and two of the remaining stems in the cluster have been polished away (for re-use). The capital, which is three feet high, bears the cartouche of Merenptah. Upon the shaft three scenes remain: (1) offering to Ptah , (2) to Set (name erased), (3) to Amen (name lost). Above and below the scenes are rows of the same cartouches.

A fragment of an alabaster vessel bears part of his name,

Prof. Hayter Lewis[3] states that on the monuments the cartouche containing Phthah (i.e. Merenptah) is always mutilated (the figure of Set being erased). It is a matter that I had not specially noticed, and possesses some interest.

Of *Seti II.* Dr. Grant has fortunately preserved the record. He found in the mound a kneeling statue in limestone with an inscription. At the beginning of his study of Egyptology, he took this to represent a 'priest of Seti and Merenptah'.[4] He kindly showed me his notes on the site last winter (1887), and I found the copy of the inscription which consists of the usual cartouches, &c., of Seti II.

This is all that I can record of the nineteenth dynasty. Of the temple that must then have existed, only a few of the toughest morsels have survived the wear and destruction of ages.

Arriving at the XXth dynasty we reach perhaps the most interesting point in the history of the city. Setnekht has left no trace, but of his son Rameses III. a variety of memorials have been found. Chief amongst them is the building which lay at the west end of the temple. It was on a small scale, but beautifully decorated with choice materials. The floor was of oriental alabaster; the roof was supported by columns resting on bases of alabaster and red granite; the limestone walls were covered with patterns in mosaic, and their uniformity was broken by semi-circular stands rising in steps, each of which was ornamented with rosettes and other devices in variegated enamel.[5]

The Ramesside date of these remains has been contested by E. Brugsch, who assigns the enamels to the Ptolemaic period. Hayter Lewis also supposes that they are in part Ptolemaic restorations. The question involves a great difficulty. The potters' marks include, besides less definite cyphers, several hieroglyphics and the following, which may be interpreted as Greek letters, ΑΕΙΛΜΟΣΤΧ. The rosettes are abundant, and bear all varieties of marks. Good examples of the other tiles being rarer, there is some doubt about them; but I have found Τ endorsed on a captive's head, and on one of a similar series a label is attached to the girdle, bearing the name of Rameses III.

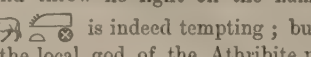
Besides the rosettes and the figure series, there are tiles inlaid with hieroglyphic legends only. Of this class Brugsch found no specimens with "Greek" letters. But I do not see how the classes can be kept distinct as to date. The hieroglyphic and figure tiles relate to Rameses III., but the figure tiles bear Greek letters: why should not the rosettes be of the same period?

That they are natural representatives of Ramesside work is shown, I think, by the enamelled cartouches of Seti II. from Khata'neh and elsewhere. A few very similar enamelled tiles from Nimrûd are of the ninth century B.C., and it is not unlikely that this was an Asiatic art introduced by the conquerors of the New Kingdom. But are they imitations made for a Ptolemaic restoration? This seems to me very improbable, even when the king to be thus honoured was Rhampsinitus himself. Light will be thrown on the question some day. A few of the marks are shown in Pl. xi. 27 to 30. There is a fine collection of the tile-

[1] Figured also Hist. Sc., No. 1603.
[2] Tanis I., pl. V., insc. 36.
[3] Trans. l.c. pp. 185–6.
[4] Hayter Lewis l.c.
[5] See the Plates accompanying the papers of Hayter Lewis and E. Brugsch.

work in the British Museum. No dedications to deities are found in the inscriptions; I therefore suppose that this royal hall was erected for some secular purpose, but formed perhaps an adjunct to the temple.

There are no brick walls remaining that can be attributed to the temple enclosure or foundations.

The earliest account of the stone remains is given by H. Brugsch.[1] He enumerates the materials thus: "Alabaster, pavement: granite, columns: limestone, walls and pillars.' By the granite columns, no doubt, are meant the column of Merenptah (eastward from the hall) and the granite base of Rameses III. The limestone pillars of the hall are now of course destroyed. The inscriptions upon them contained the name of Rameses III., beloved of the usual gods, and throw no light on the name of the city.  is indeed tempting; but as there is no mention of the local god of the Athribite nome, and as from its situation Tell el Yahûdîyeh must be outside that nome, we can only translate "Amen rā bull of Egypt."

Many years ago the artist Bonomi, if we may credit a story he told in his last days,[2] saw the limestone gateway which led into the enclosure from the south at the moment that it was uncovered by the Arabs, and read upon it the cartouches of Rameses III. If the Sheikh's white house at El Umrêj were pulled to pieces, possibly a large part of this gateway might be found there. At the entrance I saw a stone with some hieroglyphs upon it being worked into shape by a mason.

Two fragments of limestone, loose in a house at Kafr esh Shôbak, bear the name and standard of Rameses III.: so also a base-block? of red granite in the eastern part of the enclosure. The inscription, almost effaced, is upon the sides. Later, a large rectangular cavity has been made in it, probably to receive the pivot-socket of a door.

A scarab of white glazed pottery, Pl. xi. 22, from the town, is of Rameses III., and a pretty oval ornament of white glazed ware with hieroglyphs in blue, 23,[3] shows a portion of his cartouche. It seems to imitate a date stone in form. The scarabs 24 and 25, in steatite, are probably of this period.

No other precisely dateable remains of the XXth dynasty were found in the town, and we will now turn to

The Cemetery in the Desert.—It seems that, under the XXth dynasty, the inhabitants enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity which was equalled again only in the Roman period. No longer content with humble graves in the jezîreh, they chose a spot in the desert, within sight of the city, where they could pile the loose basalt blocks into tumuli of some pretensions.

To reach the new cemetery their path lay to the nearest portion of the desert across the fields, then passing over a narrow strip of soft rock and a depression beyond of half-cultivable land, they arrived at a place where loose rock abounded. Here the bodies, enclosed in coffins of painted earthenware, were laid on the surface of a natural or artificial heap of basalt blocks or on the sandy floor of the desert. Around each coffin, which was protected by a simple arch (the section showing four bricks), were placed a certain number of utensils in pottery, bronze, &c., and then the whole funeral apparatus was covered over with stones and sand to the depth of about two feet.

The coffins were numerous, lying parallel to each other in rows. We found that the plunderers in ancient times had been busy amongst them, and all the coffins of adults had been opened and pillaged. On the other hand, the graves of children were intact—the thieves knew well that they contained no valuables. In one of these, two pottery scarabs were found which bear the name of Rameses III., and thus give most satisfactory evidence for the precise date of the Tumuli. It is doubtful whether the bodies were mummified. The coffins with their bogus inscriptions do not record a single name, but they must have contained some trinkets to attract the thieves, and in fact two scarabs, set in silver and gold, are amongst the leavings. The name of Setnekht is rudely inscribed upon one of the scarabs.

The antiquities found outside the coffins, partly within the brick arch, partly arranged round the grave, include vases, jugs and bottles of several shapes, bronze bowls, bronze arrow-heads and knife, and one flint tool. The children's graves

[1] Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache, 1871, p. 87.
[2] Recorded by Hayter Lewis, l.c. p. 183.
[3] Figured also Hist. Sc., No. 1470.

contained, besides the scarabs above mentioned, necklaces of glass, glazed pottery, and shells.

The basalt here is split up and seamed, and in one place we cleared a natural well descending about fifteen feet with nearly straight sides. When cutting into the tumuli, after clearing to the hard reddish sandy floor of the desert, loose blocks with sand were found beneath, and these became more compact until the original rock was reached, still fissured in all directions.

The tumuli were grouped round the east and south sides of the depression from the north-east corner to the south-west, and were not placed in a conspicuous situation.

One and a half miles beyond lies a kind of wady through which the canal of Ismailîyeh flows, side by side with the direct road from Khanqeh to Belbês. At the top of the intervening rise, south of the main cemetery, are two low circular tumuli, perhaps prehistoric, perhaps of a later nomad race. From this elevated situation the Tell can be seen, but that is of little importance, as they are a long way from it. We cut into them deeply and in all directions, finding nothing, except close to the surface the body of an unfortunate Bedâwî, who had probably been murdered thirty or forty years before. He was wrapped in his woollen cloak, and covered with sand and stones. The skull is in the Natural History Museum. A more careful search might be rewarded with the discovery of flint implements, &c.

Tumulus I. was the northernmost and the most striking. Its diameter was 150 feet, and its height 9 feet above the floor, the sides sloping very gradually. It was, as usual, composed of basalt chips and blocks with sand, by no means easy to work in. In shape it must have been somewhat oval or oblong, but it had been deformed by the extensive excavations of a Greek, who about twenty years before cut into it on the south side, and, not content with reaching the desert level, had gone so deep in search of great treasure that we had a good opportunity of testing the rock by simply clearing his digging. Our Arab informant told us that the Greek found a *ṣandûq abyaḍ* and a *khatm*, which, as we learnt through our subsequent experience, meant a white pottery coffin with a scarab-ring. There was no sign elsewhere that the Arabs had dug in the tumuli. The Greek must have found the coffin close to the surface, and dug deep, hoping to discover a richer interment beneath : but the work proving unprofitable, he did not try any of the other mounds.

Some pieces of diorite resembling granite gave us a hope of granite sarcophagi, but, before long, we came to the conclusion that they were all chips from rounded pebbles which had probably been on the surface of the desert for centuries before being used in the tumulus. We found them in several places, and probably there is a vein of diorite in the neighbourhood.

After clearing the old working to the original rock we cut a trench from the north end of the pit to the north-west side of the tumulus along the floor of the desert. Near the centre we hit upon an earthenware coffin, lying high up near the surface and with its head to the west. As in nearly all cases, the grave had been ransacked and the face-piece of the coffin destroyed. The latter was of the usual painted type. It was protected in the ordinary way by crude bricks, measuring $6\frac{3}{4}$ to 7 inches × 14 to $14\frac{1}{2}$.[1] Two pilgrim bottles, a wooden handle (dagger ?), two plain Tridacna shells, one small, the other large, and a hardly recognizable fragment of an earthenware ushabti were found by the workmen near the head. I myself cleared the interior of the coffin, finding nothing but the skull and some bones. There were no other interments.

Tumulus II. lay east of I. It was circular and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. It contained three graves close together in the centre, lying on the desert floor. The coffins in this case were covered, not by a brick vault, but by small basalt blocks cemented together with mud. The south grave II. 1 was two feet deep, rounded at the head and foot, the central grave forming its northern wall. It had been entirely wrecked. The coffin was of white earthenware unpainted, of the usual type, but M was incised upon the head-piece before baking (see Pl. xvi. 6). It contained fragments of bones and part of a decayed dûm-tree nut. I rebuilt the coffin almost entire, but it had been opened from the side on which the letter was impressed, and the continuation of the inscription (if there was any) was entirely destroyed. A jug (Pl. xv. 10) was found beneath the remains of the coffin.

The other two graves north of it were also much disturbed ; a scrap of bronze and the remains of a painted coffin were found.

Tumulus III., south of I., and on the east side of the depression (VII. being continuous with it but not so high), was one of the most productive, and contained many interments. It formed a broad ridge, sixty yards long from north to south and twelve feet high, near the top of which the coffins were laid, heading westward, in three rows. We dug deep to the undisturbed floor without result. All the coffins were within two or three feet of the surface, but a small double-vaulted tomb of bricks, III. 2, descended seven feet.

We found about twenty interments, placed in regular order. I will describe those of which I took special notes.

At the north end was an unpainted coffin (III. 21) with rude head and arms, Pl. xiv. 2, close to the surface and without bricks. It contained no antiquities, but between it and the next were three food jars (as Pl. xiv. 6), one of which probably belonged to it. There were many peculiarities about it ; the absence of bricks, the small size and rude work of the coffin, the strange head and curly locks of hair. However, I think it is of the same date as the rest, though probably it was the last interment at the north end.

Near the north end was a child's grave, III. 5, without coffin, built of bricks 17 × $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 16 × $7\frac{3}{4}$. It had not been rifled (because not worth it) and contained beads of porcelain and variegated glass, with a central pendant representing the eye-ball, also of glass (see Pl. xv.).

[1] See section of a grave in Pl. xiv.

Round a grave of the usual kind, numbered III. 1, there was the usual pottery, one specimen of the "false amphora," Pl. xv. 15, bronze arrow-heads, 22, bronze bowl 16*b*, and another bronze object, 24, like a knife, but with rather blunt edges.

Another of the usual type, III. 3, bricks 15 × 7¼ and 17 × 17¾, contained a fine red-ware jug of the smaller size, a shallow basin of similar ware, and a lid like a saucer with a rim inside.

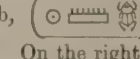
Another contained a jar (as Pl. xiv. 6 or 7) south of the head; a very broad two-handled jar (as Pl. xiv. 4, but with peg-shaped base): also fragments of pottery of three kinds —red, drab and red faced with white.

Another grave, III. 10, near the north end furnishes a good instance. The grave was of the usual kind, bricks 15 × 7½. The coffin, which had been broken into from the top of the head, was painted as usual with yellow, black, blue and red colours. Down the centre was the only legible piece of inscription that was anywhere found on the coffins, but unfortunately the name was left blank. A large platter was cemented over the joint of the head-piece as a protection. At the right side of the foot outside the grave was a large jar containing vegetable matter and a bronze grater. On the left side of the head were three pilgrim bottles, one being of unusual type, and on the right side two jars, one of which was closed by a small platter.

From the debris of other interments, this would seem to be a typical arrangement of the pottery, though the number of specimens was unusually great. The whole of the remains, with the skull, are shown in Pl. xii. 1.

III. 2, a cist tomb on the N.E. side of the tumulus contained a spoon of shell, a bronze needle (?) or piercer, and a large two-handled vase xiv. 5, on the body of which was scratched a rudely-shaped C.

Tumulus IV. was another ridge with three rows of coffins south of III. At the south end of the middle and longest row, a grave, IV. 4, contained a long, pointed two-handled vase (see Pl. xii. 2 and xiv. 8), with an indistinct hieratico-demotic inscription painted upon it in black. The coffin was of white-faced terra-cotta, not painted.

Next to it, northward, was a child's coffin with moulded head-piece, IV. 8, four feet long, and intact. There was a large hole at the foot covered by a platter of red earthenware. Inside was the skeleton, much decayed, with the remains of a bead necklace. A small pilgrim bottle lay over the stomach, rather on the left side, but below the ribs. At the left hand (placed down the side) lay a scarab,  , and more beads. The skull was decayed. On the right side of it, over the shoulder, lay a *spondylus* shell, with some decayed wood or dom nut (?) beneath it. A small pot (broken) lay high up near the head. All these are shown on the left side of Pl. xiii. 3; for the beads, see Pl. xvi.

Next to it was an adult grave, IV. 6, bricks 15-inch: coffin painted yellow, red and black, with figures of deities and illegible inscription. Outside the brick grave, at the head, two small vases were found of the œnochoe and "false amphora" patterns. Probably they had been placed in the brick arch, and had been thrown out by the riflers. A large long-necked food jar and a food jar of the typical pattern were found outside on the left of the head. The mouth of one of these was covered with a platter. On the coffin, over the region of the stomach, was placed a bowl with broad red edging. The remains from this grave are shown on the right side of Pl. xiii. 5.

Another tomb at the south side had two food jars, as Pl. xiv. 6, at the head.

IV. 10, at the north end, contained a pilgrim bottle and an alabaster spoon, two small jars (as Pl. xiv. 6 or 7) and a large jar (as 4 or 5), coffin painted, face-piece lost, except the topmost portion, which showed a lotus flower painted over the forehead. Bricks 7¼ × 14 to 7½ × 15.

IV. 1, a large pot, Pl. xiv. 5, contained a bronze grater, Pl. xv. 21. Coffin painted yellow with red bands. A red hawk (?) or goddess (?) on breast with spread wings. Inside the coffin was a small vase of peculiar shape, Pl. xv. 12.

IV. 3 contained the pottery shown in Pl. xii. 2, except the long-pointed vase from IV. 4 and the platter.

Tumulus V., east of III., was circular and small. One plain coffin without bricks was found on the west side and facing west, above the desert level. A small œnochoe was with it. Nothing else was found except fragments of a large flat iron instrument. This was in the disturbed part near the surface: perhaps, therefore, of later date.

Tumulus VI., on the south side of the depression, contained about twenty coffins heading west. It was a large, low tumulus, consisting chiefly of sand, and the coffins, buried rather deep, were principally on the west side and up to the centre.

VI. 1, a bricked grave with three platters and three small vases, Pl. xv. 6, 7, and a "false amphora," as 15, outside the grave at the head. The face-piece has earrings.

VI. 3 contained bronze arrow-heads, Pl. xv. 22, a large vase, Pl. xiv. 4, and painted coffin.

Tumulus VII., a low mound forming the northern end of III. It contained six coffins, placed irregularly facing south-west. Being very thinly covered with sand and stones, they were much damaged, but seemed to be of the usual type. Only one vase was found entire.

Analysis of the remains in the Tumuli I.—VII.

The tumuli, as we have seen, are circular, ridge-like, or irregular, the shape and size depending partly on the number of interments, partly on the rank of the deceased, partly on the natural drifts and deposits of stones and sand. The blocks of which they were composed sometimes weighed nearly 1 cwt.

The graves themselves were generally surrounded by some lighter material. They were oriented roughly to the west, and sometimes rested on the desert floor, but generally were raised considerably above it. III. 2 and the neighbouring grave consisted of deep oblong cists of brickwork built side by side, and no trace of a coffin was found in them.

In III. 5, bricks were arched over a child's body without coffin.

In the vast majority of cases the body was placed with its ornaments in a cylindrical coffin, being introduced through an opening at the head, which was afterwards closed by a movable face-piece, on which the features were more or less rudely represented. The coffin was then enclosed by a single row of bricks laid on edge, and others arched over the top in pairs, small vases or bronze vessels being inserted in the arch. Bronze implements, food vessels, and wine-flasks were placed in order round the grave, and the whole was covered with sand and blocks of stone.

In III. 21, an exceptional interment, there were no bricks.

In II. the stones held together by mud were used instead of bricks. All the coffins of adults had been opened by people who were in the secret, knowing what was worth rifling, where they would find the coffins, and what was the best place for opening them. The robbers removed a few bricks at the head, broke out half the face-piece, snatched the valuables from the breast, neck, and fingers, and left the rest in some disorder. Sand and stones fell into the coffin through the hole which they had made; otherwise it was empty, except that a few bones remained, and occasionally a careful search produced a scarab that had been overlooked. In only two or three instances had the robbers opened the coffin over the breast, and never at the foot.

The bones were in an extremely friable state, and I saved only one skull in fair condition. It is now in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. The legs and body were generally left inside the coffin, but the skull in several cases had been wrenched off and lay outside. This shows that the rifling took place after the body had decayed, perhaps in the XXIInd dynasty. I much doubt whether the bodies had been mummified, the painted and moulded coffin offering a cheaper substitute.

At Nebesheh the mummies of the fifth to third centuries B.C. were easily recognizable, or even fairly well preserved, but much depends on the nature of the ground.

Pottery.

Each coffin, including the head-piece, seemed to have been made in one piece, through the foot, which was closed up afterwards. The head-piece was clearly sliced out of the coffin after it had been formed, and thus fitted exactly. A small round hole was pierced at the head and foot.

The coffins of adults varied in length and girth to some extent. An average measurement was 6ft. 6in. long by 1ft. 8in. broad. Many of them were unpainted, the pottery having a whitish surface. Most were painted on the front half only, in three colours, red, yellow, and black; some in four, adding blue. Of the four colours there were instances in II., III., and IV.

The pattern was the same on all, as far as it could be traced, and was an imitation of the bands of a mummy cartonnage. On the breast there was generally a winged figure kneeling; between the legs ran a line of blundered hieroglyphics, intended to represent a common formula, with the name of the deceased (in one case, in tumulus III., it was written quite legibly, *t'ed ân âmaχî χer Âsâr maâ χeru . . . maâ χeru*, the name unfortunately being left blank). On each side of this strip were four or five seated deities, including Thoth, and the four genii, separated by bands, on which occurred, with more sham hieroglyphics.[1] The back of the coffin was always plain. The colours and designs were seldom in an intelligible state, especially from the breast upwards.

The heads varied considerably. Sometimes the whole face, sometimes only the most prominent features, were added in separate lumps of clay to the curved surface. Painted stucco was occasionally used to complete them. Apparently all the coffins had the moulded face-pieces, but they were generally opened at that place by the robbers and the fragments of the face-pieces were scattered. Those that belonged to painted coffins were also painted, one having a lotus flower over the forehead. Moulded earrings, crossed arms, &c., were sometimes added.

Most of the coffins were accompanied by vases; of these a sufficient number of perfect specimens were found to give a good series of types.

Two small fragments were of the blue-painted red pottery that occurs at Hajj Qandîl, Qurneh, and other sites of the XVIIIth to XIXth dynasties.

The remainder was of a plain red, yellowish, or whitish ware, with a fine and sometimes polished surface. Sometimes deep red staining was employed to give a broad edging to jars and platters of pale reddish ware, and brownish lines were painted on the pilgrim bottles.

The large pottery was placed outside the grave, the smaller pieces were laid inside the coffin, or in the brick arch over it, or at the head outside, if the latter position was not due to the robbers.

Pl. xiv. 3, heart-shaped, from VI., one only.

4, from VI., IV. 3, &c., several.

5, many, generally near the foot. On emptying them a quantity of decayed vegetable matter was invariably found at the bottom, in the middle of which was a bronze rasp or grater. In III. 2, marked with a rude C; another has a + on the handle.

6, usually in pairs near the head, one of them being closed by a small platter. Varied considerably in shape. The specimen figured is a fine type, coloured red, from III. 10.

7 may be considered an extreme variety of 6. It is yellowish brown, polished, and with red bands painted round the neck and upper part, from IV. 3.

The above, I suppose, are food jars.

9. Two specimens, one from IV. 4, with an inscription,

[1] M. Naville, however, would seem to have detected a proper name, where I could only recognize blundered formulæ followed by the name of Osiris and other divinities.

very faint, in the hieratico-demotic script of the new kingdom. These are, perhaps, wine jars.

Bowls and platters. Pl. xv. 2 (plain brownish), covered a vase in IV. 6 (see Pl. xiii. 3, in which the same platter is represented. Larger platters, often with a broad red border, were used to cover joints and gaps in coffins. In III. 10, the broken platter in Pl. xii. 1 was cemented over the joint of the head-piece. A similar one VI. 1. In IV. 8, the platter Pl. xiii. 3 covered the large hole in the foot of the child's coffin.

Pl. xv. 1. Bowl of the same ware, reddened inside, and with a broad red edging outside.

3. Lamp, two specimens from two graves in VI., plain, much larger than the similar ones from Naukratis. Traces of burning at the spout.

4. From VI., another IV. 8, photo.

5. One only in VII. of a fine pale red ware. In form, but not in material, it resembles the tomb pottery of Tel Basta of the XXIInd dynasty? Unfortunately, the pottery in VII. was crushed to pieces, and nothing else was found.

6. One in VI. 1, polished pale brown with lines and wicker pattern round it, black.

7. Also from VI. 1, stained red and polished.

8. Yellowish, from III.

9. Yellowish, from IV. 6; an intermediate form of white-faced ware with horizontal circles of brown from V., and VI. 1.

10. Jug, white-faced, II. 1, and another red. A smaller variety, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, white-faced, two specimens in III. or IV. and one red polished.

11. With three handles, one in III. or IV., whitish.

12. One specimen IV. 1.

13. Pilgrim bottle. One side usually less pointed than the other. The decoration consists of brown lines on the mouth and handles, cross lines beneath the handles, and close spirals (as if concentric circles) on each side. The lines are broad (sometimes narrow, on small specimens).

Two as figure in III. 10 (cf. Pl. xii. 1, one contained a lump of resin); smaller IV. 8 (Pl. xiii. 3 found in child's coffin over the heart), and IV. 10.; a much larger one in VI.

Also one plain, stained red, another small of plain, polished, white-faced ware (in fragments, Pl. xii. 2) from IV. 3.

14. A long-necked variety, one specimen III. 10, with narrow concentric lines.

15. "False amphora," as Mr. A. S. Murray has termed it, IV. 6, cf. Pl. xiii. 3, dark yellowish; another with a flat foot and horizontal circles, stained red, from VI. 1. Fragments of a large specimen with red ornament, in VI., and several others. One is represented amongst the paintings in the tomb of Rameses III. One of green porcelain in Bulaq. The form was universally adopted and elaborated in Greece at a very early date.

A rude ushabti of terra-cotta, much decayed and hardly recognizable, in I.; several others found together in III.

Bronze. Bowls, Pl. xv. 16 (form of rim *b*) in fragments, III. 1; another, similar, but without handles, perfect (rim *a*), in the brick arch of III. 20; another form, 17 (Rim 17*a*) from III.

Knife (?), Pl. xv., 24 flat, edge apparently blunt, III. 1. There are traces of hafting at one end.

Arrowheads, Pl. xv. 22, varying very slightly, in five specimens III. 1.

23. Much stouter and the central rib distinct, four specimens, VI. 3.

Both of these types are tanged, not socketed. They thus bear some resemblance to the iron (hammered) arrowheads from Defeneh, but differ entirely from the bronze of Defeneh, which by clever casting were made with sockets.[1]

Graters, Pl. xv. 20, from III. 10; 21, from IV. 1. Traces of these were found with vegetable matter in nearly all the vessels of type Pl. xiv. 5. They are hollow and circular, made from a sheet of bronze punched with holes like the domestic nutmeg-grater. They are very fragile.[2]

A thin sharp *piercer* of bronze, from III. 2, was, I think, perforated as a *needle* when found, but is now much damaged.

Wood. Pl. xv. 27, rounded wooden handles (or kohl sticks), four together, in III. 20.

A stout swelling handle for a small axe or adze in I. much decayed. If the head was of stone it may easily have been overlooked by the workmen.

Iron. In Tumulus V. a thin bar was found, much rusted and broken, but I doubt its great antiquity. If any iron objects belonged to the interments, they have entirely disappeared owing to the rains and the loose sand and stones in which they were embedded.

Stone. Flint flake, Pl. xv. 26, oblong, translucent brownish; one face is quite flat, the other shows three flakings. The ends squared and trimmed, on the upper side only, with a few small chippings. It was handed to me quite fresh and direct from a grave in III. Its colour is entirely different from any in the desert and Tell, and so is its type. I have therefore no hesitation in accepting it as from these graves.

The flat whetstone 25, of the same material as the tapering square-sectioned ones from Defeneh, was found in III.[3]

Spoon of alabaster, 18, with the bowl ground out in a true circle, from IV. 10.

Shell. The names of the shells are due to the kindness of Mr. Edgar Smith, keeper of the Conchological Department in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, who spared no pains in identifying the mutilated and faded specimens that were found in these tumuli. As far as can be

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[1] For iron arrowheads, see Petrie's memoir on Nebesheh and Defenneh, Pl. XXXVII., especially 14 (12 and 13, of circular section, were by far the most abundant); for bronze, Pl. XXXIX; in this metal Nos. 8 and 12, triangular, are infinitely the most abundant; 11 and 20 are the only types in which the tang survives, and they are very rare.

[2] Similar graters, of bronze, rarely from Naucratis and Defeneh; but of iron, frequent at Defeneh (see Nebesheh, Pl. XXXVIII. 9 and 10).

[3] The Defeneh type occurred also at Naucratis, both in 1885 and 1886.

ascertained, they are all of Red Sea species, and may still be found at Suez.

Spoon, Pl. xv. 19, made of half a large shell, Strombus tricornis (?), from the brick tomb III. 2.

Tridacna elongata, two specimens in I. They would serve well for lamps, but show no trace of burning; probably they were to be used as spoons.

Another bivalve, Spondylus sp. (?), with a hole bored in the middle, from the child's grave, IV. 8.

Small ornaments. In the adult's grave, III. 20, a broken bead was found of an irregular pipe shape. "Phœnician" opaque glass, white and black bands, measuring about 1·3.

In three children's graves, which, as containing nothing of value, had been left unrifled, beads and other ornaments were found, viz.:

III. 5. see Pl. xv., an eyeball *a*, of black and white glass, no doubt formed the central pendant of a necklace. The beads were :—

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size.	Form in the Plate	Remarks.
Glass, opaque, bands of black, pale blue or green, and whitish (?)	Irregular oval.	$1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{8}$	*b.*	One specimen.
Glass, opaque, white, pale blue or green, red eyes.	Oval.	$\frac{7}{32} \times \frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$	*c.*	Several.
Glass, decomposed.	Rounded.	$\frac{3}{32} \times \frac{5}{32}$	*e.* also *d.*	Several.
Porcelain, pale blue.	,,	$\frac{1}{32} \times \frac{3}{32}$	*f.*	Abundant.

Also a number of pierced univalve shells *g*. Apparently Nerita crassilabrum.

In IV. 2 (see Pl. xv.), were found two ivory studs *l* for the ears; two very coarse green glazed pottery scarabs *a*, with the prenomen of Rameses III., another *b*, with three disked uræi upon the sign ⌓; three small eyes *c*, and six plain rings *d*, all of the same ware. Also some cowries *e* (Cypræa moneta (?) abundant at Suez) with the backs cut away, and other shells *f* (Ancilla sp. ?) like rice shells, and imitations of them in white glazed ware, *g*. IV. 2 was clearly a child's grave. Unfortunately the workmen opened it in my absence. I did not at the time observe that the scarabs bore inscriptions, owing to the faintness of the impression and the dust upon them, but I was delighted to find this confirmation of the date on opening the bag containing them in England. The beads were :—

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size.	Form in the Plate	Remarks.
Glass, opaque, blue, and greenish white (?) with red eyes.	Oval and irregular.	$\frac{7}{32} \times \frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$		Two specimens.
Glass, greenish.	Irregular, rounded.	$\frac{3}{32} \times \frac{5}{32}$		One specimen.
Glass, blackish, decomposed.	Irregular, rounded, circular, or oval.	$\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{5}{16}$ to $\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{7}{32}$	*h. j.*	Numerous.
Porcelain, greenish.	Short.	$\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{32}$	*k.*	A few.
Porcelain, yellowish white.	Irregular, oval, or pipe-shaped.	$\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{1}{8}$	*g.*	Numerous, rather irregular.

In IV. 8, see Pl. xvi., the ornaments consisted of a well-formed green-glazed steatite scarab of Rā men kheper *a*, a small rude scarab in green glazed ware *b*, and the following beads :

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size. (Axial length × diameter.)	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
Red jasper and carnelian.	Rounded or oval.	$\frac{3}{32} \times \frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{5}{32}$	*e.*, &c.	Numerous.
Carnelian.	Sharply carinated.	$\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{7}{32}$	*g.*	Numerous.
Black opaque glass (?)	Square, corners cut off.	$\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$	*e.*	One specimen.
Pale green and blue translucent glass.	Rounded.	$\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{4}{16}$		A few.
Do.	Bluntly carinated to rounded.	$\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{5}{32} \times \frac{1}{4}$		Several, rather irregular.
Pale blue translucent glass.	Sharply carinated.	$\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{8}$	*g.*	One specimen.
Glass, variegated yellowish white and blue, with red eyes. Opaque.	Circular or oval.	$\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{5}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$	*c.* and *d.*	Several.
Decomposed glass, opaque, variegated.	Irregular oval.	$\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{5}{32}$ to $\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$	*f.*	Many.
Pale greenish blue porcelain.	Short.	$\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$ and rather smaller.	*h.*	Abundant.
Yellow porcelain.	,,	$\frac{1}{32} \times \frac{1}{16}$	*j.*	A few.
,,	,,	$\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{32}$		Several, some chained in pairs.

An intact adult's grave would, no doubt, have furnished us with more valuable ornaments. We found a few objects that had been overlooked by the robbers, namely :—

In III. 20 a broken bead, irregular pipe-shaped, of opaque "Phœnician" glass, banded white and black. 1 inch × $\frac{5}{16}$.

From III. and IV : a beautiful jasper scarab in gold setting, but miserably engraved with (apparently) the prenomen of Rameses VI., Pl. xvi. 1.

Fig. 2, in glazed steatite, with a fragment of its bronze and silver setting.

Fig. 3, in greenish porcelain.

Fig. 4, set in gold with a silver ring, green glazed steatite.

All of these differ entirely in condition from those found in the Tell. They were handed to me at the graves fresh-found, and with the fragile settings still with them. I do not hesitate to accept them as found in these tumuli.

Two letter-like marks were found, one resembling **M**, Pl. xvi. 6, or the Phœnician *shîn*, was incised before baking on the head-piece of II. 1; the other **C**, Pl. xvi., 5, perhaps doubtfully authentic, was rudely scraped on a vase in III. 2. The remains in both of these graves are necessarily of the same date as the rest, viz., XXth dynasty.

Tumulus VIII. stands by itself nearer the edge of the desert, west of the depression, and on a bank between it and a second depression. It is probably a natural drift in which the graves were excavated.

About ten rude and unpainted coffins were found in it, without any brick work,[1] and two burial urns for children, of the form of the largest vessel shown in the photograph.[2] This one was closed by a plain saucer.

The remains in VIII. are ruder than in I.—VI. I think they are poor burials of the XXth dynasty, mixed with later ones.

Food vase, deep rimmed jar, and saucer from one grave, (the three smaller vessels shown in Pl. xii. 3), XXth dynasty.

Vase, type Pl. xiv. 5, with grater, XXth dynasty.

Jug, type Pl. xv. 10, white-faced ware, XXth dynasty.

Vase, type Pl. xv. 4, coarse red ware.

Vase, Pl. xvi. 7, very irregular, coarse white ware.

Flat flask with long handles, 8, coarse white ware, XXIInd (?)

A grave, probably of a child, furnished a necklace, Pl. xvi. Tum. viii. *a-e*. It consisted of a small *flat incised* right eye of green porcelain, the pupil black (resembling those of the XXVIth dynasty, and not coarsely *moulded* in the round like the earlier ones) a small scarab in agate, and the following beads:—

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size. (Axial length × diameter.)	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
Jasper and carnelian.	Rounded.	$\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$	*e*.	Several.
Carnelian.	Oval, &c.	$\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{1}{8}$ &c.	*d*.	,,
Agate.	Sharply carinated.	$\frac{7}{32} \times \frac{9}{32}$	*c*.	One.
Carnelian.	,,	$\frac{5}{32} \times \frac{1}{4}$ & smaller.	*c*.	A few.

Also a number of decomposed glass and inferior porcelain beads which were blown away by a gust of wind.

The general result of the excavations in the tumuli is to show that they belong to the XXth dynasty, at least as the central period. Out of the first seven tumuli, there is nothing certainly later or earlier than this, while the finding of scarabs of Rameses III. and VI., in agreement with the fact that the most striking type amongst the pottery, "the false amphora," is found in the paintings of the tomb of Rameses III., fixes the date. At the same period the royal hall was built in the city, and although there were no great local dignitaries who would live and die in the place and be buried in stately tombs, there must have been many well-to-do people in the city who could afford themselves respectable burial in these tumuli.

A factory of glass and porcelain beads, &c., in the south-east part of the town, belonged to about the same period, and furnished us with many objects.

The greater part of the waste-heap, or floor, on which they had been deposited, had been cut away; but a corner remained at the base of a high pillar of rubbish. The untouched earth was full of beads and minute ornaments in porcelain, and in an hour (all that could be spared) I collected a sufficient number of examples to verify most of the objects produced from it by the sabbâkhîn, see Pl. xi.

Terra Cotta Moulds, neatly and smoothly formed, of an oval shape, and grooved to admit of piercing the amulet, viz. for
Sacred eyes of three sizes.
Pigmy Ptah, small and plain.
Sekhet, small, one.
Small flower pendant, as *l*.

Products. *White glazed ware* (faded from green (?)). The hippopotamus *c* (bought from a sebakh digger close to the spot to which I afterwards traced the workshop); small *uta's*, flower pendants *l*.; circular buttons with loops at the back *h*. (Some of the *uta's*, pendants and buttons, together with several plain rings, are green.)
Black glazed ware. Small eyes, flower pendants *l*.

Miscellaneous. Pieces of greenish slag.
Fragments of pottery crucible (?) with bubbles of iridescent pearly-white glass.
A number of cylindrical rods of the same pearly half-decomposed glass.
Fragments of a bronze pin or needle, evidently the tool for piercing amulets while in the moulds.
Irregular flake of flint (from the sabbâkhîn) *a*.
Instrument of flint resembling a borer fairly well chipped (found not by myself, but in my presence, and I have every reason to believe in its authenticity) *b*.

Beads.

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size. (Axial length × diameter).	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
'Phœnician' opaque glass, the colours faded to white with darker bands	Irregular, pipe-shaped.	$1 \times \frac{3}{8}$	*k*.	One.
Similar, white.	Globular, or rounded, or oval	$\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{16}$ & smaller.		Abundant
Similar, traces of other colours.	Globular.	$\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$		One or two.
Do.	Oval.	$\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{1}{2}$		One.

[1] See Pl. xiii. 1.

[2] Pl. xii. 3.

Beads.—Continued.

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size. (Axial length × diameter).	Form in the Plate	Remarks.
Blue, translucent glass.	Irregular, round.	$\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{8}$	*m.*	1, perhaps doubtful.
Dark brown porcelain.	Brick.	$\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{32}$	*i.*	Annexed (6 together), numerous.
Do.	„	$\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{3}{16}$		Do., scarcely divided (4 together)
White do.	Pipe.	$\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{1}{8}$		Annexed.
White or yellowish do.	Flower-shaped.	$\frac{3}{32} \times \frac{1}{4}$	*g.*	Numerous.
White do. with longitudinal dark brown stripe.	Brick, imitating cowries?	$\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{8} \times \frac{5}{16}$	*e.* to *f.*	Do.
Dark brown do.	Rounded.	$\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{32}$ &c. to $\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{1}{8}$		Do., some chained.
Pale blue do.	Short.	$\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{32}$ & smaller.		Many chained.
Do.	Pipe-shaped.	$\frac{1}{32} \times \frac{3}{32}$		A few.
Yellow do.	Short.	$\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{32}$ & smaller.		Many chained.

Four moulds were brought to me which possibly belong to a different deposit, the clay of which they are formed being coarser. They are for an atef crown, a pendant with a crocodile *d*, a similar pendant with bull, and lastly one to stamp the *reverse* of a sacred eye. The design is in relief, with a wide margin in order to receive the edges of the upper mould. The style is the same as in those from the factory, but the details are different.

It is noteworthy that on comparing the 𓂀 from the factory and a few other specimens from Tell el Yahûdîyeh with those from the mummy-chambers of Tell Basta, an important difference is traceable in the style. In the Ramesside examples the eyes are roughly moulded, with very deep channelling. The amulet-makers of the XXIInd dynasty on the other hand prefer to have the spaces between the details wide and smooth, with a gentle curve, and the details, although sometimes skeletonized, are never deeply embossed. The Ramesside eyes, too, seem to be almost uniform and always of moderate size, while those of the XXIInd are much varied, and often of great size. During the Saite period the eyes were flat and the details incised.

The occurrence of Ptah and Sekhet in this Ramesside factory is noticeable. They are abundant also in the XXIInd dynasty.

The great fortifications, which cut in two the cemetery of the Middle Kingdom, may be attributed to the New Kingdom. They appear to be double, consisting of two ramparts, each of which is protected by a ditch.[1]

Unfortunately a hurried excavation, which I began in May, in order to ascertain on what stratum the sand ramparts rested, had to be stopped before the base was reached, in order to give me time for an expedition to the neighbourhood of Siût. I have, however, noted the following points:

The inner enclosure consists of a rampart, and outside it a ditch, which furnished the materials of the rampart. In the eastern part this consists of fairly clean sand, the ditch having been excavated in the jezîreh; in other parts, especially south-west and west, chiefly of mud and rubbish. The height of the sand in the loftiest part is not less than 18 ft.

The ditch in some places, at least on the sandy east, north, north-west, and south sides, was lined with stone to hold back the sand. In others the upper part of the mud slope of the rampart was carefully smoothed down, and sometimes bricked in receding courses (afterwards smoothed with mud), in order both to hold the rubbish in and to present a slippery surface to an attacking party. The ditch may have been lined here also, but is still choked up, while in other parts the fellâhîn are actively digging out the blocks of stone lining.

I at first thought, like my predecessors, that these blocks had been the stone *facing* of a *brick* wall (cut away) instead of the lining of a ditch, but they are found equally on the inner side against the sand rampart. As far as I could tell, only loose blocks were found in the middle of the ditch, so it was not a solid stone wall carried down to a rock foundation (which, with its width of 32 feet, would have been in the last degree unlikely, for even in Upper Egypt, where stone is abundant, all town walls are of brick).

I doubt whether a wall was ever built on this rampart. Nothing of the kind can be found now.

A gateway can be identified, I think, at the junction of the north and north-west sides, where there is a complete break in the sand. Other level entrances are not likely to have existed, and though I searched carefully, I could trace none.

The *outer enclosure* consisted also of rampart and ditch, but is now visible only where the ditch crossed the jezîreh at the east end. The remainder being beyond the sand, consisted no doubt of mud, and has been levelled.

On the jezîreh, at about 100 feet from the first rampart, rise two sandbanks, separated by a less elevated space. The northern bank reaches a height of fifty feet, and so completely commands the inner rampart, that it cannot be contemporary with it unless it has been increased by later additions. Outside it is another stone-lined ditch, unfortunately choked up, except on each side of the passage between the two mounds. Here I cleared a small space and found the lining on both sides. The width, including the lining, which appeared to be double at the base, is 32 feet.

The rampart is crowned by a massive wall, built, as usual, in separate towers. Some of the blocks or towers are placed at right angles to the rest of the wall, appearing like buttresses, and although, on such an insecure foundation, they could not have the strengthening effect of true buttresses, they doubtless gave the defenders better opportunities of molesting assailants. A considerable part of this wall remains, but the natives are digging away the mixed rubble

[1] See plan in Pl. ix.

and sand of the rampart from below, and are gradually bringing it all down.

There is no appearance of a gateway in the inner rampart at the east side, but in the outer enclosure, the break between the two mounds appears to be for a gateway. There are traces of brick walls to hold back the sand at the sides; but the foundations of these walls are above the level of the top of the inner rampart.

I suspect that at first, after the XIIth dynasty, a double rampart and ditch were constructed without any eastward entrance. Later, in prosperous times, the town rose high, overflowed the inner fortification, and filled up the ditch. It was then re-fortified by heightening the outer rampart, except at one point where a gate was required, opening eastwards. At the same time the great wall was built on the top of the ramparts. This latter may date from Pre-Ramesside to early Roman times, excepting probably the period between the XXVth dynasty and the later Ptolemies. The bricks measure about 14 inches.

The scarabs Pl. xvi. 9 to 12 are of green glazed porcelain, probably XXthdynasty. 10 is a curiously blundered variety of 9.

The mediæval-looking head of a captive 13 carved in limestone, was bought on the mound. The only attachment seems to have been at the top of the cap. Was it a cornice ornament like the heads under the window of the tower at Medinet Habu?

Between the XXth dynasty and the Roman Empire there is little to record. Mr. Chester obtained here two basalt fragments, one with the *nomen* of a Shashanq, the other with part of a "standard" or *ka*-name,[1] XXIInd dynasty. Professor Lanzone found a statuette of Osorkon I.,[2] XXIInd dynasty. Next comes the base-block of King Uapet, discovered by M. Naville, XXIIIrd dynasty. Dr. Grant picked up here a fragment mentioning the Theban governors Nesptah and Mentu mḥā. He is sure of the locality—XXVth dynasty. The fragment of a statue, Pl. xvi. 23 (bought of a peasant, who also travels to some extent, collecting as a middle-man for dealers), is of the XXVIth dynasty, but, to judge from the inscription, should come from Sais. It contained a prayer to Osiris in the house of the bee' at Sais for funeral offerings to '. . . kep Net, son of Pedu Net.' The two names are compounded with that of the goddess Net or Neith of Sais.

As to burials, I have attributed some in tumulus VIII. to this period. There must have been many in the jezîreh, but the Romans destroyed numbers in clearing the ground for their suburb, and many more have been removed by the sâbbakhîn. Those that remained were of various dates.

Graves found in the jezîreh. A. Bodies not mummified (?) simply laid in the sand; several without antiquities. In one case with porcelain beads and a pair of bronze earrings, and bones of child laid at right angles behind the head. *circa* dynasty XXVI. (?)

B. At some height above body a low grave, section showing four bricks, Pl. xvi. 17 (in one case only three, 18), the outside often smoothed with mud, the usual method. All had been opened at the head and rifled.

Inside one a face modelled in clay (not burnt), stuccoed and painted.

In grave 8, traces of an inner coffin of (unburnt) clay painted and roughly shaped over the skeleton, which lay with head to the south. Some long and short green glaze beads with it, dynasty XXVI. (?)

Grave 2 (see above p. 40). Outside, and apparently belonging to it, some pots of the XIIth dynasty ware.

Grave 4. Pilgrim bottle green glazed ware, and bronze double kohl stick placed at the head loose in the sand outside. (Head to east) XXVIth. (?)

C. Earthenware cover substituted for bricks, several. No antiquities, Roman (?) In one case the cover was in two halves, divided at the shoulder; the body not mummified, arms down the sides. At the foot, at right angles to it, and at the same depth, another body wrapped in a cloth, of which there were remains on the skull.

D. Child burials in jars, a hole being knocked in the bottom (cf. the pierced coffins in the tumuli). One contained bones only; the other, Grave 7, with amulets: viz., green glazed skeleton *uta*, winged and framed in a rectangle, pupil and eye black; some very small figures of deities, pigmy Ptah, Bes, a pig, Nefer tum, the last having *blotches of yellow glaze;* also flattened beads, apparently derived from Pl. xvi. 19, and a few green, black, and red short beads. Pl. xvi. 19 *a* is a rough sketch of the jar. Found with two adult burials, one of which showed traces of cartonnage blue and green, *C.* XXIInd dynasty.

In the town I bought, or picked out of the upper strata, several rude scarabs and seals of limestone and porcelain of c. XXIInd dynasty. Pl. xvi. 20-26.

To Macedonian times and thereabouts belong the Persian seal Pl. xvi. 27, the clepsydra or water-clock of Alexander the Great[3] and the

[1] Birch., A.Z., 1872, p. 122; in B.M., Nos. 936, 937.

[2] S.B.A. Proc. VI., p. 205.

[3] *Academy*, Nov. 19, 1887, p. 342.

amphora handle, ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑ 28. It is strange that no legible coins were found of any period. The Roman coins on the surface may have decayed or been picked up, but even the massive Ptolemaic coins are entirely absent.

Under the Roman rule the place rose to its highest level of prosperity, perhaps during the second century A.D. The whole of the old site was then inhabited, for Roman pottery is found mixed with the loose rubbish of earlier date in all parts of the mound. Probably the city expanded on all sides. In the course of centuries it had risen high on its own *detritus* and ruins, and sloped up to the top of the outer rampart, over the inner choked ditch. At the highest point of the outer rampart, near the north-east corner, new buildings were erected on the top of the ruined city wall, containing limestone columns and pavements, and forming probably a Jewish synagogue, if not a temple,[1] and citadel, which commanded the whole extent of the town, including the newly-built suburb on the jezireh. The constant size of the bricks in the suburb, in the buildings on the top of the rampart-wall, and in the rock-cut tombs on the edge of the desert, show how suddenly the prosperity of the city began and ended. 5 inches × 10 is the invariable measurement, except where the suburb occasionally covered over an earlier house of $5\frac{1}{2}$ × 11 on the jezîreh, where also one building is met with of very black brick, 7 × 14.

In the tell itself nothing of importance remains. On the summit of the rampart the building I have mentioned is completely ruined. I trenched through the fallen bricks, finding portions of pavement in thin slabs of limestone, and pieces of limestone columns.

The suburb on the jezîreh is built with considerable regularity. A large space, part of the ancient cemetery, was cleared of sand, and the rubbish, full of bones and potsherds, was piled up in a low irregular bank on the north side. The space thus cleared was laid out with straight streets crossing at right angles to the cardinal points. There are two main streets: one leads direct to the gateway in the rampart; the other runs parallel to it towards the highest part of the outer rampart, on the top of which is the citadel (?) of the same date. The other streets do not continue in straight lines, but have frequent turns at right angles, or stop suddenly.

The plans of many of the houses are clear, and 3 coatings of plaster remain on some of the walls. Burnt brick was used only to make a firm backing for cement, in the lining of what appeared to be baths, drinking-fountains, washing-slabs, &c. In many of the larger houses is a small chamber with a cemented bath sunk into solid brickwork or rubbish, the inner layer being of red brick. I cleared one that was perfect: the red bricks measured 5 × 10 inches. The bath measured $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3 and was 3 feet deep, the corners rounded; a foothole 22 inches above the floor at one end, and 11 inches above it a ledge 6 inches deep, forming a narrow step out of the bath. A small waste-hole was pierced in the centre, but it was stopped with cement, and excavation beneath showed no trace of a pipe or channel.

The antiquities that I picked up here include stamped handles, a few pieces of friable green-glazed ware with figures and ornaments in relief, ribbed pottery, glass, peg bottoms of jars and amphora handles made double. The suburb throughout is practically of one date, and probably did not exist more than a century. I should be inclined to attribute the bulk of the remains to a later date than the reign of Vespasian, when the temple of Onias was closed. Unhappily, not a single legible coin was found.

There were also scattered buildings. At the extreme north-east end of the jezîreh, on the south side of the modern cemetery of Esh Shôbak, there are the foundations of a circular building 85 feet in diameter, with crude brick walls 9 feet thick, bricks 5×10 inches; around it are a few other remains, with stamped handles.

At the extreme edge of the desert, on the way to the tumuli, is a level strip of soft rock,[2] full of Jewish tombs with characteristic loculi. I call it

[1] The cemetery proves the wealth and numbers of the Jews, who seem even to have formed the whole population of the town. The city of Onias lay in this neighbourhood. According to Josephus, it had been deserted for some time when Ptolemy Philometor, about the year 160 B.C., gave it to the Jews in order that they might build a temple there, and so be induced to pay less reverence to that at Jerusalem, which was in the territory of his enemy Antiochus.

[2] The rock is similar to the limestone of the jezîreh, but seems to have been affected by the basalt. Sometimes there is a considerable depth of pebbly sand above it; red sand is found further south, and the basalt overlies this as far as I could ascertain.

the Southern cemetery. It extends northwards about a quarter of a mile to the village of El Liqât. After a short space begins the Middle cemetery, just north of the village, and after another space the Northern cemetery, lying between the village 'Arâb es Sawâleḥ and the cultivated land.

There must have been several hundreds of tombs in the three cemeteries. We excavated about fifty. All of them had been broken into, and one had been opened recently by the Arabs.

Southern Cemetery.—I suppose, from its mixed tombs and its position, that it is earlier than the other two. It consists of—

(1.) Square pits, descending vertically about 10 feet, and ending in an oblong cavity. Nothing found in them.

(2.) Rectangular graves, neatly cut in the rock, measuring 5×8 feet, with rabbet for covering slab. Three, side by side, at the back edge of the rock, amongst those of the third and fourth class. No bones or antiquities.

(3.) Similar to (4), but the chamber contains a double row of niches superimposed. Two or three, ruined, at the south end.

(4.) The plan in Pl. xvi. is a typical instance taken from the Middle cemetery. From the level surface a flight of four or five steep and high steps leads down to a narrow doorway three feet high. This opens into a chamber the floor of which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the doorway; a further step is therefore left in the rock on the inside. In the walls of the chamber, on the same level as the entrance, are ten rock-cut niches, each six feet deep.[1]

This description applies exactly to most of the tombs. In the *South Cemetery* the entrances usually faced east or west. In one case two niches were *built* of red brick and stucco at the end of the excavated chamber. The heads of the two tenants, as M. Naville has reminded me, were raised on a brick and the names ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΑ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ, &c., painted on the stucco over the open entrances of the niches.

The epitaphs of ΜΙΚΚΟC, ΘΕVAC, ΕΛΕΑΖΑΡ, and the fragment with LKE were found in this cemetery. Also a fragment of sculpture with a bunch of grapes.

The antiquities found consisted of a thick glass "lachrymatory," a spouted jug with strainer in the neck, like the modern *abriq*, but of whitish pottery, Pl. xvi. 35. Also three vases like 36, from one tomb, and one 37.

Middle Cemetery, half mile east of the tail of the *jezîreh*, and therefore most convenient for the inhabitants of the suburb, while the road from the Tell itself may have led then, as it does now, from the south-east corner to the Southern cemetery and the tumuli.

The rock is soft, whitish, with green coppery (?) patches. The tombs, all of type (4), are so closely packed in about an acre, that the niches of different tombs often met and had to be diverted. We partially or entirely cleared about 25 in all parts. Of the entrances sixteen faced N., six E., two S., and one West towards the city.

The steps were sometimes cut in the rock, but the hardness varied, and often the exposed parts, i.e. the steps, the sides of the staircase, and the doorposts were of burnt or crude brick or hard cement. Sometimes a slab of limestone formed the lintel. The burnt bricks measured about $4\frac{1}{2} \times 9$, the crude brick 5×10.

The measurements quoted above applied to most of the tombs correctly, even in detail; but one carefully made with three steps led into a very small chamber with three niches only, one in each side, and the third opposite the door. The roofs of two chambers, otherwise of the normal type, were supported by a pillar in the centre. In most cases the roofs had fallen in.

One with central pillar had been stuccoed, and in it were found fragments of plaster from the cornice (?) with painted wave pattern, the colours being green and yellow. In the chamber were pieces of a friable blue-glazed vessel with ornament in relief.

Two thick glass "lachrymatories" came from another tomb.

Many slabs of limestone, generally plain, were found close to the doorway outside, or lying in the chamber. Possibly they had served to close the entrance. Sometimes there was a pediment sculptured upon them, sometimes an epitaph with or without the pediment. The inscriptions included that of Agathocles and the long metrical one.

Several skeletons were found, but generally they had been disturbed or destroyed by the damp. One in somewhat better preservation, but without the skull, lay upon the remains of a cloth, the upper part turned to the *inside* of the chamber. Another was placed similarly, but no traces of the cloth remained. It also was headless.

The niches had, apparently, never been filled up, or even

[1] Tombs at Acre similar to 2 and 4 are described by Herr Schumacher. P.E. Fund Quarterly Statement, Jan. 1887, pp. 26, 27.

plugged, although the sand had often drifted into and half-filled the chamber.

North cemetery.—We cleared a few tombs, all of type (4), but found nothing noteworthy except some fragments of inscription.

Miscellanea from the Tell.—A piece of orpiment with sulphur, two pieces of amethyst, green microcline felspar,[1] blue paste for amulets; bronze cat-headed Bast holding ægis; large bronze fish-hook. Of porcelain amulets (which are so common in town remains from Saite to Ptolemaic times) only three or four fragmentary specimens of Sekhet, one perfect Isis suckling Horus, and one Bes. I believe these are all the identifiable amulets or fragments that I saw from the 1st to the 31st March (1887), and during two days' collecting 18th and 19th May.

The limestone baths west of the hall of Rameses III.[2] have long since been destroyed. Dr. Grant in 1878 noted them as 15 feet above the alabaster blocks of the pavement. One was oval, the other rectangular, 12 feet 5 inches × 8 feet 7 inches, the sides being 14 inches thick.

In May (1887) when I revisited the place with Count D'Hulst, I found that the sabbâkhîn, in digging at the base of the inner side of the northern half of the outer rampart, had loosened the sandy rubbish 15 feet above them: and this, in falling, laid bare a number of beehive-shaped constructions of unbaked clay about 2 feet high and the same in diameter. The sides were thin, and at the top was a large circular hole. They rested each on a base formed of two or three small slabs of limestone or bricks, and perhaps the hole at the top had been covered by a brick; but this having slipped off, the interior was filled with sand from the rampart. Inside, upon the floor, was a thin layer of charcoal, with traces of burnt bones, and the interior was sometimes reddened by fire. In one case the fire had been prematurely extinguished, and charred grass stems could be discerned. Two rows of them were visible at different heights, and the rows were at least double horizontally, the beehives being buried in the bank, one behind the other. Many were destroyed by the fall, but some remained intact, while others probably lay deeper in the bank.

It seemed as if bricks or stones had been laid flat, some brushwood put upon them, and an animal, or a portion of one, laid upon the brushwood, the whole then being domed over with clay: after which a piece of burning material was dropped through the opening at the top and the fire left to take its course or to go out, while the aperture was closed by a brick. I cannot guess the object of such a ceremony.

I have been told both by visitors and by natives that there had existed a great heap of burnt bones at the N. end of the outer rampart. It was removed some years ago by a European for some agricultural or manufacturing purpose and the site, consisting of massive crude brick walls and chambers, has been much dug into. I heard also of limestone remains being found. A quantity of the burnt bones remain, and although they are reduced to the merest fragments, the well-known anatomists Dr. Garson and Mr. O. Thomas have identified some of the best preserved as probably of calf, and lamb or kid. Why are they burnt, if they are not the remains of Jewish sacrifices?

The most probable site for the temple of Onias, if it stood here at all, is on the top of the mound just south of this point. From this spot the whole city is commanded, and one of the two main streets in the suburb led directly towards it. Josephus, in one passage, compares the Jewish temple to a tower (πύργος), and probably it would form a kind of Acropolis, as at Jerusalem. But if this is the site, the temple must have been rebuilt in Roman times, for the structure, with its column bases and pavement of limestone, is built of small Roman brick, 5 × 10 inches, and has every appearance of late date. Notwithstanding the Greek letters on the glazed tiles, the whole evidence of the antiquities, in my opinion, is against a Ptolemaic, or even early Roman occupation of the city, and while it is certain that Jews[3] formed a very important part of its population for some time under the empire, I believe that the temple of Onias must be sought for not here, but in one of the neighbouring Tells.

TÛKH EL QARAMUṢ.

Ṭukh (el Qaramûṣ) طوخ القرموص is the name of a village $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.E. from Tell Basta and 4 miles S. from Hurbêt. Half a mile S.S.W. is the small mound called Tell Ṭûkh. Unfortunately very little sebâkh is dug there, consequently antiquities were extremely scarce.

The plan in Pl. ix., made from a rough tape-and-compass survey, shows an enclosure measuring about 500 × 400 yards, and cut in two by a cross bank. Besides this, at the distance of a few hundred yards N.W., is a broad strip of rubbish marking the site of a Roman village.

[1] These minerals were kindly identified for me by Mr. Fletcher, keeper of the Department of Mineralogy in the British Museum.

[2] S.B.A. Trans. VII., p. 187.

[3] Hebrew inscriptions may well have existed on the site, cf. E. Brugsch. Rec. de Trav. VIII. p. 6.

The visible fortifications consist of a rampart surmounted by the ruins of a massive crude-brick wall. The jezîreh sand of which the rampart is composed leaves off abruptly on the S.E. side where the ditch that must have furnished the materials reached the alluvium. This shows clearly on which side of the jezîreh the settlement was first made. In agreement with it we find the temple and the earliest antiquities in the south-east half of the enclosure.

Now the cross-bank, which is also of sand, implying a ditch in the jezîreh, seems to have no *raison-d'être* except as an exterior rampart. Thus I think we may conclude that the settlement on the S.E. was at first enclosed by a rampart, the N.W. side of which now forms the "cross bank," while the S.W. side had to be carried out on to the alluvium owing to the buildings at the edge. The plan of this was irregular, and at a later period it was squared, and the whole jezîreh taken in, by adding another enclosure on the N.W.

S.E. enclosure.—S.W. side formed by a wall of light-coloured compact brick, 7 × 14 inches, on a rampart of alluvial mud and rubbish (indicated in a trench). The wall seems to have been repaired more than once by masses of brickwork (50 feet thick in places), laid on the top and against it on the outside. These bricks are larger, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ in., black, of looser make than the first, and much coveted by the sabbâkhîn, who have cleared away great quantities. The wall is composed, as usual, of separate sections or towers of very variable sizes; some being more than 120 feet in length, others less than 20. They are placed at slightly different angles, and one will sometimes project 20 feet beyond the next (cf. plan of wall-face Pl. xviii., which willgive an idea of the proportions of the sections; but it must be noted that the angles are not all right angles as there represented, and that it was sometimes impossible to trace the divisions when the alignment was straight). As to the thickness, I obtained no satisfactory measure, except of one mass, 12 feet thick, backed against another.[1]

The N.E. side of the enclosure is formed by the sand rampart, on which are traces of a similar light brick wall, and remains of another wall of black bricks 8 × 16 which was built against the sand on the outside so as to hold it in, and was then carried up to the top.

On the S.W. the structure had been much the same, although very little of the wall remained. These walls that are built on sand always suffer most.

The cross-bank of sand is very broad, representing perhaps an unusually deep ditch. In the centre of it is the only gateway in this enclosure. The sand appears to have been walled in on both sides; on the south the line of the black brick wall is very clear; on the S.W. from the gateway it has been almost all dug away to the foundation, leaving the rubbish on each side standing perpendicular.

The northern wall could, no doubt, be traced by trenching, but all the evidence I could see was the foundation of the pylon. On the top of the rampart are some curious chambers, described below.

N.W. enclosure.—The rampart on all sides is high and clear, but there are few traces of walls upon it. There were buildings on the top of the E. portion of the N.E. side; and along the N.W. and S.W. sides there were others built against the inner side of the embankment: some of them are well preserved and have arched doorways. In one a large whitish earthen jar, Pl. xviii. 7, a smaller one with impressed ornament (reddish) 6, and a number of whorls of unbaked clay were found. They are probably of the Greek period.

The interior of this enclosure is very solid and hard to dig, and has not been touched by the sabbâkhîn. We dug a few pits and trenches, especially along the line between the gateways, showing a considerable depth of clay, with some pottery and limestone chips, but no definite structures, except towards the S. corner a sand foundation-chamber about 20 feet square, marking, no doubt, the site of a small stone building. The sand is only six feet deep, lying on rubbish. In the centre of the enclosure is some ribbed pottery on the surface, the only sign of the late Roman or early Arab occupation that I could discover.

In the S.W. rampart are several gaps, but it is very doubtful whether they mark original entrances. The main entrance was on the N.W., where there is a well-marked gap, yet there was not the slightest trace of a stone or brick gateway, or building of any sort, either on the surface or in the trenches. Pits dug at the side of the road-line between this entrance and the entrance of the S.E. enclosure brought to light some scanty chips at a depth of a few feet, but nothing definite was found until, just outside the cross-bank, the sand and brick foundation of a (stone) gateway appeared almost at the surface (Pl. ix., A. 43 × 34 feet). I searched for foundation deposits without success: the wall of the sand chamber had been abraded almost to the level of the jezîreh, on which it was founded.

At the opening in the sand rampart itself were limestone chips, and beyond the irregular foundation of another gateway or pylon (Pl. ix., B. 34 feet square) also on the jezîreh, which the destroyers of the gateway had almost laid bare.

Further on the debris became deeper until the *temenos* pylon (C) was reached. The foundation-wall of this structure (36 × 38 feet) was not neatly squared; blocks of *unbonded* brick-work formed the four sides, the space in the centre being filled, as usual, with sand.

The Temenos.—The S.E. side was formed by the main S.E. wall, from which the N.E. sprang at a distance of 160 feet from the E. corner of the enclosure.

The S.W. side was bounded apparently by the walls of

[1] Each of these masses must represent the work allotted to a gang in corvée, convict (cf. perhaps Hdt. II. 137), or contract work. As to the passage in Herodotus, there was no need to raise the foundations of a town by artificial means, except perhaps at its first foundation, or when it was necessarily extended over the alluvium, as was the case probably under the XXIInd dynasty at Bubastis. By that time every trace of the jezîreh must have vanished, while the city expanded greatly. I have not, however, been able to recognize any sign of such raising in any locality.

houses and other chambered buildings, connected together by blocks of brick-work.

Inside, on the left entering, are some massive brick chambers and passages, with arched doorways built against the wall; immediately beyond is the foundation wall of the temple, measuring S.W. 193 feet 5 inches, N.E. the same precisely, N.W. 108 feet 2 in., S.E. 108 ft. 6 in.

The temple seems to have consisted entirely of limestone, and although there were in places two or three feet of chips over the sand, nothing was found except a piece of limestone sculptured with the head of a female of good Ptolemaic-Egyptian work, from the walls, and an inscribed fragment from the back pillar of a statue in the same material.

We worked out the corners of the foundation-wall with the greatest care, using a fine sieve for the best of the sand. The results, however, were only:—

N. Plaque, blue glazed ware, Pl. xvii. 12, between the sand and the chips.

W. 1 gold (No. 18), 1 carnelian (No. 17 or 19).

S. 2 beryl (16 and 20), 1 carnelian.

E. (Blank).

None of these were inscribed. The comparatively unencumbered state of the ground may have led to the discovery of the deposits anciently, when the corner stones were removed.

However, a day or two before we closed work we had a wind-fall. The workmen were ordered to cut a trench through the rubbish down the axis of the temple, and at a point 37 feet S.E. of the centre and a few inches N.E. of the axis, and simultaneously at another point, on the axis itself, and about 10 feet N. of the first, they came upon a deposit. This was so unexpected that both M. Naville and I were away, but, fortunately, M. Naville returned in time to see the last of the objects taken out of the deposit. M. Naville gave me the particulars of what he saw, and from this, added to the account of the workmen, the division of the objects seems to have been thus:—

S.E. deposit: 32 blue glazed cups (No. 10), 4 mortars, 4 (?) pairs of corn-rubbers, 4 (?) jars and bones above them.

N.W., 3 bronze bricks (No. 13 to 15), one or more pots.

There were four jars complete and one fragment—all similar, and only one was ascertained to have come from the N.W. Thus the deposit in the S.E. was *quadruple*, and may explain the scanty finds at the four corners. We hunted over and sifted nearly all the sand that had been thrown out here, and found (from the S.E. (?)) 3 (originally 4 (?)) needle-like pegs of carnelian, pieces of bitumen, and pieces of clay coated with copper salts.[1]

The saucers, of rather rough ware, held specimens of materials. One (No. 10) contained resin; another (No. 11) had traces of the coppery earth; the rest probably bitumen (as No. 9) and other more perishable substances. The miniature mortars were, as usual, of limestone; the corn-rubbers[2] of sandstone; the pots of rough red earthenware. The bones (21) were identified by Dr. Garson as belonging to a calf; the carnelian pegs were unfortunately lost in transit to England.

Nothing was found on the other side of the axis, nor in further diggings on the same line; but the workmen having received a present for their discovery, produced next day the green-glazed cartouche-plaque of Philip Arrhidæus (fig. 8), which they had undoubtedly found the day before and kept back. The signs upon this interesting object are impressed and coloured dark blue under the glaze.

In the N. corner of the foundational wall we dug a deep pit, reaching the base of the wall at a depth of 15 feet, the bricks throughout measuring $15 \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. The clean sand continued at least 18 inches lower, and we must then have been deep in the jezîreh.[3]

Behind this temple, or front-apartment, was a space of 40 feet of mud and rubbish, and then another foundation-wall enclosing a space measuring 91 feet × 56, bricks $7\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ inches. This chamber is raised six or seven feet above that of the front-apartment, and is, like it, filled with sand covered with chips. We dug 10 or 12 feet into the sand. Probably upon it was built the raised inner chamber of the temple. In trenching the disturbed sand, a fine and unique pair of bronze tongues was discovered, Pl. xviii. 1, the arms terminating in rude imitations of human hands.

The orientation of the temple throughout is careless. The Egyptian method of making the sides face the cardinal points was set aside; the direction has been roughly accommodated to that of the ramparts and walls of the S.W. enclosure, and the result is a near approximation to the Babylonian method.

In the temenos the N.W., S.W., and N.E. walls agree roughly in direction with the corresponding walls of the S.W. enclosure. The N.W. has been flattened to produce a better square. The N. hall of the temple is nearly square, with the N.W. side of the enclosure; the axis of the S. hall is different, to correspond with the wall at the back.

(Axis of gateways B.—C. $124\frac{1}{2}°$; from C. through axis on N. hall 124°; axis of S. hall 130°.)

In the temple area near the E. corner I have marked a building of nine chambers. Many similar storehouses were found both inside and outside the temenos, especially towards the S.E. rampart. Each chamber *appeared* to contain a circular shaft of brick-work, which was in contact with the sides, but left the corners filled only with rubbish. These were probably the remains of domed roofs fallen in. The upper part was often filled with exceedingly hard mud, probably also from the roof. We cleared some to a depth of twelve feet, finding rough red pottery of the types Pl. xviii. 4 and 5 (pot and lid). We were unable to trace any means of communication between the chambers.

A large part of the S.E. enclosure was covered with a thick deposit of hard mud, as if alluvial: no doubt the wash of centuries from the brick walls of the long-deserted fortress.

[1] Identified by Mr. Fletcher.

[2] Similar to the specimens from Naucratis (Vol. I. pl. XXVI.).

[3] See Note D.

On the sandbank between the two enclosures are a number of small rectangular buildings with low circular shafts or bee-hive-shaped erections, separate or connected with the former. One of these yielded the glazed and inscribed vase described by M. Naville, and part of a figure of Bes of the XXIIIrd dynasty.

The antiquities from Ṭûkh not yet mentioned include a number of fragments in coarse red pottery of figures of animals, Pl. xvii. 2, 5, and one Aphrodite 1. These seem to be foreign, but certainly not Roman; possibly they belong to the mercenaries of the XXIInd—XXVth dynasties.

4 is a terra cotta mould (?) or rosette; 3 a draughtsman of pale glazed ware. To the XXIIIrd (?) dynasty I should attribute the two figures of Aphrodite in glazed ware. 6 is greenish, 7 blue. They are both flattened at the back.

The scarab, Pl. xviii. 10, is circa XXIInd; 3, XXVIth dynasty.

I collected the following village and place-names:—

Tel Ṭûkh. تل طوخ. (تل=*tell* before vowels, *tel* before consonants generally, but I have heard *tellĕ Basteh*. Before the article it is generally pronounced as if with one *l*, *tel el*; and sometimes the article coalesces with it, *tel-l*.)

Adjoining the Tell on the north-west are—

Shirshêmeh شرشيمه (Esh Shurshui E.[1])
Es sekâkereh السكاكره

Half a mile distant N.E. is Tûkh, distinguished from other villages of the same name by the addition el Qaramûṣ طوخ القرموص

The following names may generally be identified on the maps.

Gezîret abû Yesîn (abûîsîn). جزيرة ابوه يسين With a few graves and traces of building. (Abu Kiss E.)
Abû Kebîr ابوه كبير
Hurbêṭ (Pharbaethus) هربيط
El aḥrâz الاحراز
Kafr abû ḥaṭab كفر ابوه حطب
Mahdîyeh مهديه
Hihya هيهيا (Mehîyeh E.)
Ḥuḍ nagiḥ حوض نجح
Ṣobêḥ صبيح (Saig E.)
Ez Zirzamûn الزرزمون
El 'edweh العدوه
El 'alaqmeh العلاقمه
El Fawaqseh الفواقسه
El Meṭaw'eh المطاوعه
El Qaramûṣ القرموس
El Qarên القرين (El Karaim E.)
El 'Awamreh العوامره
Ferâsheh فراشه
Es Sawâqî السواقى
Ed Dahtamûn الدحتمون
Kafr Kishk كفر كشك
Mît el 'ezz ميت العز
Eṣ Ṣalaṭneh الصلاطنه
Faqûs فاقوس
Ed dêdamûn الديدمون
El 'ârîn العارين
El Birûm البروم

The Arabic is given with all faults as written by a native scribe.

[1] E denotes the map issued by the English War Office.

KHATA'NEH AND TELL ROTAB.

In the spring of 1885 M. Naville obtained a number of interesting antiquities from the excavations at Khata'neh and Tell Rotâb. With his kind permission I have put together the following notes upon them for this volume.

Khata'neh,[2] a number of graves of the middle kingdom were found from which a good series of pottery and other antiquities were obtained.

The sphinx lies on the surface of the artificial mound. M. Naville's pits passed through the rubbish, and no doubt reached the jezîreh.

The date of the graves is given by several singularly beautiful scarabs in white glazed steatite, Pl. xix. 1—9. No. 1 is engraved with the name of Sebekhotep III. of the XIIIth dynasty.

The "oval" urns are, I suppose, jars. A parcel of bones from one of them, brought home by M. Naville, has been identified by Dr. Garson as the remains of a child seven months old. The hollow bones might easily lead to the supposition that they were not human.

M. Naville has described the urns as containing ashes, charcoal and bones; also pottery: and about the urns were placed more pottery, scarabs, two bronze knives, and some small flints. Altogether it was a most important find.

The pottery includes a number of specimens of polished black ware. They are generally rather rougher than those from Tel el Yahûdîyeh. Several are without the usual pricked ornamentation, e.g. Pl. xix. 15. The neck with handle (14) is plain, as well as 17, which has traces of a double handle, 17a. 16 is well-formed and ornamented $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; others are like Pl. xi. 1, but ruder; the palm branches in these rise from the base.

There are again traces of white paste in the punctures.

Of polished red ware there are specimens of the types Pl. xi. 1, 2, 3, and one, with body like 3, is smaller and footless. None of these have punctured ornament.

The vessels, Pl. xix. 18—24, are typical of the plain red ware, each class being represented by several specimens. The ring stands (18, 19) vary much, but the upper and lower rims are always unequal. There are also some plain saucers

[2] Cf. Goshen, p. 21; also Maspero in A.Z. 1885, p. 12 ff, and Nebesheh, p. 45.

with flattened base. 20 occurred also at Tell el Yahûdîyeh, Pl. xi. 11. Probably this class is of a distinct period from the polished ware.

25 and 26 are of red ware slightly polished.

The most curious vase is 13, very pale olive, slightly polished. The pattern, three palm branches hanging down from the mouth, is painted on in a dark brown glaze.

There are many flint flakes, a few being toothed as saws. Also a fragment of bronze.

Another bronze object, fig. 27, is apparently from these tombs. It is hollow, with chisel-shaped edge: traces of wood remain in the socket.

Also, a beautiful globular bead of dark amethyst, diam. $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Bead of dark variegated limestone, flattened barrel shape, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long.

The scarab 10 seems to be of brilliant clear white glass; a most remarkable early imitation of rock crystal. The bore, which is now tinged with verdigris, is carefully made askew. The slight oxydisation of the surface, however, suggests the vitreous nature of the material.

A portion of the bowl of a spoon in hæmatite, and a small kohl-pot in hard stone.

Of later work there is half of a plaque[1] with the cartouche of one of the kings named Merenptah, perhaps Seti II., in glazed ware. The ground colour is brownish, the hieroglyphs and lines white, Pl. xix. 28.

From Tell abu'l Fulûs, near Khata'neh: some pottery, apparently of Roman date: and a fragment of a large glazed tile with the hawk from the Ka-title of a king moulded upon it; on the back is a potter's mark, viz. two notches at the edge and a portion of another mark.

From Qantîr I publish 29, the inscribed trough mentioned in a former memoir.[2]

From *Tell Rotâb*[3] are three implements in bronze; 30, a long narrow *khopesh*, the handle of which was inlaid with wood; 31, a thin, two-edged dagger (?) blade; 32, a flat, crescent-shaped blade.

A triple *koḥl*-pot in blue porcelain.

Group of two human-headed hawks, green porcelain.

Bowl of spoon in alabaster, and with tang to fit into a handle, fig. 33.

Scarabs.—34, Rā maā nb (Amenhotep III.) beloved of Amen, contemporary (?) glazed ware. 35, 36 also glazed ware. I should attribute all to the XXth dynasty provisionally.

37, steatite, XXIInd dynasty (?)

MISCELLANEA.

Pl. xvii. 22. Hare in pale blue glazed pottery, remarkably fine. The ware suggests XXVIth dynasty, but the style and short ears are perhaps against it. Purchased by M. Naville at Shibîn el Qanâtir: said by the vendor to have been found at Zagazig.

Pl. xviii. 11. Fine scarab of Rameses II. steatite, purchased by M. Naville at Semmennûd; figured also Petrie, Hist. Sc., No. 1562.

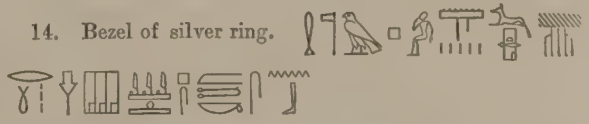
12. Large scarab with curious subject, figures of Bes or mummers dancing and tossing a monkey, and two hippopotami; obtained by M. Naville from Tel Muqdâm.

13. Limestone stamp with Latin inscription, 13*a* end view, 13*b* side view.

MARTIAN[VS] "Martianus,

VIVAS [IN DEO] live thou in God."

Purchased Benha.

14. Bezel of silver ring. 

The name Psemthek senb is very common in the XXVIth dynasty. The locality *Seχet ḥetep* occurs in the Fayûm Papyrus in some connection with Athribis.

Purchased Benha (Athribis).

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[1] Plaques of Seti II. are noted by Wiedemann from Thebes; the two specimens in the British Museum, 12857 and 12930, are said to be from Tel el Yahûdîyeh.

[2] Nebesheh, p. 45.

[3] Goshen, p. 24.

NOTES.

Note A.

Long known as Tell el Yahûdeh or T. e. Yahûd, although correctly spelt in the French map. Yahûdiyeh is interpreted as in the text by the natives of the place, one of whom tried to account for the name by saying that an old Jewess used to live upon it. A conceivable meaning, suggested, I think, by Mr. R. S. Poole, would be the "Mound of Judæa," hence "of the Jewish people, Jewry?"

The true Tell el Yahûd "mound of the Jews," is about twelve miles away, three miles south-west of Belbês, on the south side of the Ismailîyeh Canal, and opposite the village of El Gêteh. Owing to its situation on the edge of the desert, the excavated pits of the *sabbâkhîn* become entirely filled with sand, and have to be reopened every year. Some fresh workings showed only Roman remains, and no definite antiquities beyond a few illegible coins were to be seen or heard of. The *sibakh* is carried across the canal by ferry-boats.

Note B.

The word *jezîreh* (plural *jezâir*) will be frequently met with in the memoir, and needs explanation.

جزيرة in Arabic, means nothing more or less than an island, properly speaking surrounded by water, and this is practically the only meaning given in even the most complete dictionaries. In Egypt the word *jezîreh* has a special application to the islands of sand which crop up here and there above the alluvium, both at the edge of the desert and elsewhere, even in the central districts of the Delta. It thus enters into the formation of many place-names.

When a workman digging in the neighbourhood of a jezîreh has passed through the alluvium into sand, he will sometimes say, "the jezîreh is visible," instead of "the sand is visible," showing that he recognizes the increase of the alluvial deposit. Similarly sand met with in digging near the edge of the desert *jebel* is called jebel.

Mr. Petrie[1] has noted the combined effect of denudation of the sand and accumulation of alluvium in reducing the real and relative height of the sand islands. Most of them are only from a few inches to a few feet high, and it cannot be very long before they will be swallowed up if the soil continues to rise at the rate of four inches in a century.

While upon this point I will state a further matter of importance for the geography and archæology of the Delta. It seems that :—

(*a*) In the earliest times, before canals were invented, the would-be settlers were absolutely forced to secure their habitations from the yearly floods by making them on the sand islands or on the edge of the desert.

(*b*) Later, as the artificial canal system came into use, and means were employed for irrigation and drainage, the danger of settling upon the alluvium was reduced, and the advantage of being in the middle of the fields became greater. Once built, the mud-brick village or town rose steadily on its own rubbish; but still, *cæteris paribus*, the sand island was naturally preferred.

(*c*) At the present day numbers of 'Ezâb ('hamlets,' sing. 'Ezbeh) and villages are being planted upon the alluvium, and in many cases they are perfectly safe. Thus the jezîreh has almost entirely lost its importance.

So far I have given no instances; unfortunately there is one great difficulty in the way of illustrating these statements :—In the case of early cities it is seldom possible to reach the subsoil of the foundation. The explorer may take advantage of the deepest *sibâkh*-pit and dig many more feet into the rubbish, but, before any sign of the base appears, water is reached, and all further research in that direction has to be abandoned. Beginning with the easiest, I will first consider the case of—

Founding on the alluvium.—In modern times very frequent in the Delta and seldom attended with bad results except in marshy, ill-drained districts. The dwellings are raised on a slight artificial mound. Sites of ancient towns, old forts or walls, canal-banks or their bases, and small waste patches are chosen in preference to a jezîreh for the convenience of being in the midst of the crops and pastures, and near running water.

However, the 'Ezbeh of Muhammad en Nebêsheh (who died in 1888), having been twice founded in the open fields, but each time invaded by floods, was finally removed to a safe situation on the edge of a jezîreh.

In ancient times the only instance known to me is that of Naucratis, founded in the 7th century B.C. The whole of the excavated portion[2] lies on hard alluvial mud; and this portion includes the temples of Apollo, Hera, the Dioscuri, and Aphrodite, and may well be the most ancient quarter. Pits dug elsewhere passed through rubbish into water, but there was nowhere any indication of a sand basis. The cemetery, too, was an artificial heap of soil. The sand-islands in the neighbourhood are all west and south-west of Naucratis.

Foundation on a jezîreh.—Excluding shallow desert sites like Defeneh and Qanṭarah, which may be easily fathomed,

[1] Nebesheh § 2–3.

[2] Naucratis I. Pl. XL.

it is difficult or impossible, as I have stated above, to reach the base of very ancient towns. But numerous cases may be quoted in which a town lies at the edge of a jezîreh, the slope of which may be traced further by digging under the ruins until both sand and rubbish dip beneath the water. Examples of this kind are furnished by Tell el Yahûdîyeh, Nebêsheh and Kûm Afrîn. At Kûm el Ḥiṣn and Tell Ṭûkh the jezîreh is completely hidden, and only appears in the excavations or the pits of the *sabbâkhîn*. Ṭarrâneh, Tell el Yahûd and Gemayemi are completely surrounded by desert or jezîreh sand, in part owing to drifting? Other sites such as Heliopolis (Tell el Ḥisn) and Tanis (Tell Ṣân) are evidently connected with the neighbouring jezâîr or desert, as the case may be, Tell Basta, which gives no indication of base, is completely surrounded by alluvium.

A town in growing naturally spread backwards upon the jezîreh, thus the later extensions covered up the early cemeteries; e.g. at Tell el Yahûdîyeh and Khata'neh.

This long note, perhaps, needs an apology, but the question here treated is of practical importance to the explorer, and also throws light on a curious custom of the ancient temple-engineers, which is referred to in Note D.

Note C.

The rocks found here are worth the notice of a geologist. The French map marks "montagne de grès noire et de granite," really level desert of basalt with some chips of diorite; these latter found loose on the tumuli were identified by Mr. Fletcher, of the Department of Mineralogy in the British Museum. Pieces of basalt and of fossil wood are common in the Tell and villages. For another rock in which the Roman tombs were cut, see p. 52.

All the flint tools and flakes, notwithstanding their bad workmanship, must have been manufactured elsewhere and imported, perhaps from Helwân or Upper Egypt.

In the desert near the tumuli, where there are many pebbles of opaque chert or jasper, Monsieur Naville and I picked up two rude implements which I am told are of that material. In colour they are pale ochreous, and in shape quite different from those described on p. 39.

Note D.

The primæval necessity of founding a temple on the sand must have led to the constant use of that material in the later foundations of temples, beginning, I think, from the XXVIth dynasty (I suspect that all the temples at Nebesheh were re-founded at that time). The use of sand varies according to the ease of obtaining it. Thus I found no signs of it in one deep pit in the western part of the temple at Tell Basta, though the date is not earlier than the XXXth dynasty. The halls of the XXIInd dynasty in the same building are, as far as I could ascertain, on a mixed foundation of mud and dirty sand. But, generally speaking, from the time of the XXVIth dynasty onward the stone bases of the temples and pylons were laid either (1) on the jezîreh, (2) on mud with a thicker or thinner layer of clean sand at the top (showing that a ceremonial significance was attached to it), or (3) in the most important cases (as shown by Tûkh and less clearly by Nebêsheh and the Ptolemaic temple of Tanis) on pure sand brought for the purpose, and reaching to the jezîreh. Even when the jezîreh was many feet under ground, the space was cleared right down to it, lined with a solid rectangular wall of brick or specially prepared mud, and filled with sand. There has been no certain instance discovered of a temple artificially raised by sand before the XXVIth dynasty, and against the existence of such a custom previously I can quote from my own experience Kûm el Ḥiṣn and Tell el Yahûdîyeh. For references to the subject v. Tanis I. p. 52 (Ptolemaic temple: the great temple stands on the *jezîreh*); Naukratis I. p. 28; Nebesheh pp. 8, 10, 11, 14, 25, 39.

Two years after writing the above note I find an apt quotation from a Ptolemaic text in Brugsch's Worterbuch:[1]

(Before building some temple the king) "excavated its area *down to the water*, and filled it with sand according to rule, and laid the foundations in fine white stone, with excellent work that would last for ever." A massive platform or foundation of stone was usually placed upon the top of the sand as a solid base for the rest of the building.

[1] Supplement, p. 1360.

THE SEASON 1887-8.

MINOR EXPLORATIONS.

I.—WORK AT TARRANEH.[1]

The little village of Ṭarrâneh, on the western edge of the Delta, is the modern successor of the Coptic ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲑ (Terenūti), and the classical Terenuthis. In earlier days it was perhaps called *Μενελαου*, after Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy Soter; at least, Strabo places a city of that name in the neighbourhood, and we shall soon see that Ptolemy Soter was active here.

Ṭarrâneh is situated at the end of the road from the Natron Lakes, upon the Damietta branch of the Nile, which here flows close to the desert.

The site of the old city is Kôm abû billûh كوم ابوا بلوه on the edge of the desert. Thence a road is carried upon an embankment, crosses the railroad and then a canal, called Tir'et el Khaṭaṭbeh ترعة الخطاطبه, to Ṭarrâneh الطرانه, south of which is Kôm aqenûṣ اقنوص, an insignificant mound very near Ṭarrâneh; and Ekhmâs الاخماص.

Across the river, south from Ṭarrâneh, is Zauyet razîn زاوية رازين, with an extensive shallow mound.

In the village of *Zauyet razîn* is a Roman limestone tablet (Pl. xx. 1) representing a serpent before an altar, on which is placed a jug. In the middle of the mound are many columns of red granite, 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter, with one base and two Egypto-Corinthian capitals: near them lies a block (re-used) with the cartouches of Rameses II. There are also limestone capitals, &c. At *Ekhmâs* is a limestone trough resembling Pl. xx. 3, only in this case the lion's head is pierced and forms a spout, and there is no hole in the base.

At *Ṭarrâneh* are three specimens of these troughs, the use of which I cannot explain. I have never seen them elsewhere, so they are probably connected with some local industry practised in very late Roman times, e.g. natron washing. Fig. 2 appears not to have been pierced either at the side or base. Fig. 3 has a large, irregular hole in the base at P. The third specimen very closely resembled 3, but was not pierced. The internal arrangements of all show no material deviation; three circular pans in every case discharge into a deeper trough (H K I L) of irregular form.

Also a male torso from neck to half-way down the thigh, standing, nude, excepting a piece of drapery over the shoulders; ⅔ life size; white marble; Roman.

At the door of the mosque is a block of Gebel Aḥmar sandstone, in the *middle* of which is an

[1] See also *Academy*, March 3, 1888, p. 158.

inscription, Pl. xx. 4, of Necho, 'beloved of Neith in the house of . . .' The distinctive portion of the geographical name is, unfortunately, quite illegible.

In the village there are also some limestone blocks, fig. 5, 6, and others, representing a king, probably Soter, offering. These are evidently from the same source as those that I excavated.

Across the canal and railway, south of the embankment which leads to the desert, there is a *saqyeh* lined with limestone blocks, several of which are inscribed. One of these (fig. 6) was of especially fine workmanship in relief, and presented an interesting geographical name. It being in the uppermost course, and quite unnecessary, I offered a small sum for its removal to my tent, hoping thereby to secure it from harm; but owing to a misunderstanding with my reyyis, the owner suddenly flew into a passion and hacked off the inscription with his *fâs*.

It was evident on my first visit that the people often found sculptures and used them for any purpose they required. Kûm abû Billûh was therefore a place that needed working at once; unfortunately, the extensive mound was clearly of Arab or late Roman date, and presented on its surface no "leads" for the excavator. However, a respectable fellow told me that he would point out the spot where the blocks had been found, and consented to open the pit at his own risk. He took several men and dug deep close to where two little marble columns lay on the surface. The sand and dust were easily cleared, and eventually the work revealed narrow walls of limestone (see plan, Pl. xx. fig. 7) with traces of at least two layers of pavement at different levels. The base of the building was buried under fourteen feet of rubbish, and eight feet above it, or six feet below the surface, were remains of a pavement on which lay another marble column.

Many of the blocks were sculptured, and, although they were inserted at hap-hazard, the ornamental part being sometimes turned inwards, sometimes outwards, the subjects that appeared on neighbouring blocks were so far allied as to prove that the materials of a temple had been conveyed direct to it, piece by piece, while the former was being destroyed, no doubt by Christian hands.

I did not pursue the work far, as the excavation was deep, and I had to observe excessive economy. The place is, however, worth a short campaign to thoroughly clear it. In one place six courses of stone remained, but in others there were gaps from which even the last block had been removed.

The site of the original temple was easy to find. It had stood on the crest of the hill at the extreme west end of the town ruins, and on the north side of the road to the Wadi Natrûn. Here were traces of the temenos wall, worn down almost to the last brick, but, as near as I could measure, enclosing an area of 65×58 yards. Inside, there were still signs of the trenches which had been dug in order to extract the limestone foundations of the temple. This was an easy task in loose sand and gravel, and the blocks of stone were carried away bodily, so that even chips were rare to find.

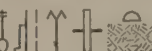
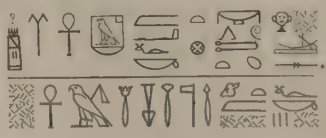
The temple was no doubt Ptolemaic. Part of a large architectural figure of Bes, painted red (for a pillar), gives some idea of the style. Most of the blocks were only eight inches thick, but some of these were sculptured on both sides; the walls were therefore slight, at least in the interior.

The cartouches of Ptolemy Soter and of Phila-

delphus, were almost equally abundant. It is impossible from the detached fragments to decide what part each king took in the building. Soter's work was frequently on a small scale, the hieroglyphs and figures being in relief on a flat ground. The signs in this relief work are often mutilated by the mason. Thus in the title the ŏ of some blocks has been reduced almost to ⌓ in fig. 8, and in another block to ○. Some of the ill-worked sculpture was rejected, and carved over again on the other side of the block.

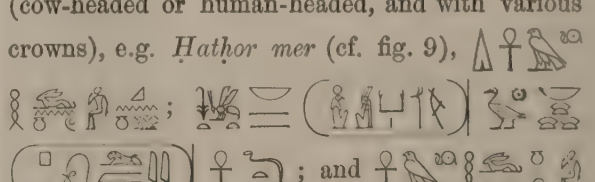
The following may be attributed to Soter:— 1. A pretty piece with his cartouches between hawks , now at Boston. 2. Numerous blocks like fig. 8 (measuring 15 × 12 in). On these Soter is said to be beloved of Hathor Khut, the soul of Isis. *Ba n ȧst*, "the soul of Isis," is hardly more than a grammatical variation of the name of the goddess Bast. 3. Below these, no doubt, was the series, of which specimens (reversed and so from the opposite side of the temple) are now at Ṭarrâneh, each showing the king standing before an altar piled with offerings "to his mother," but without figures of Hathor. 4. A block at Kûm Abû Billuh.

5. On a larger scale are *Ḥaṯḥor mer* (as fig. 9) ; on the other face of the same block image of Horus giving life to (?) the avenger of his father, Soter (above each inscription), and, 6, the hitherto unknown standard title, which must be assigned to Soter:—

'Life of Ra-Horus, the very mighty, valorous king, lord of the two diadems, possessing the two lands with power as ruler; smiting . . . .' Also, 7,  "[Hathor, or a temple], in the most beautiful locality that exists in Māfek, and 8,  .

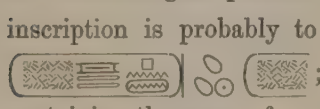
"Life of Hathor of Māfek, Nub Iuthet on her bark . . . in the palace?" and "Life of Horus Samtaui, great god in Māfek . . ."

The work of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as far as I could ascertain, was always on a large scale, the figures sculptured in *cavo relievo*, and the hieroglyphics incised.

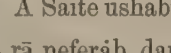
The cornice (Pl. xx. fig. 12) belongs to the younger Ptolemy, together with several inscriptions. These generally related to scenes in which the king (nearly natural size) offered to Hathor (cow-headed or human-headed, and with various crowns), e.g. *Ḥaṯḥor mer* (cf. fig. 9),  These are merely titles of the king.

I found no instance of Ḥathor neb Māfek in the inscriptions of Philadelphus, which are singularly uninteresting. I should suggest from these scraps that, Soter decorated the interior of the building, and Philadelphus was chiefly concerned with the exterior.

Fig. 6, with raised hieroglyphics, is finer than the average work of Soter, and may be earlier. It speaks of "[Hathor] the cow in the city of the great lake *sesh urt*," and "the cow in the city or nome of Amu."[1]

Fig. 13 is a unique cartouche, from the excavation. It is incised in a different style from the other inscriptions. The dedication to Thoth of Hermopolis and the form of the name Pen âmen points to an early date. On the other hand, is a late form; possibly the occurrence of Ret âmen, in the XXVIIIth dynasty, is a guide to the chronological position of Pen âmen. The inscription is probably to be restored  ; the first cartouche containing the name of a prince ". . . loving the two lands, Penamen, son of the king . . ." The fragment is in the British Museum.

The main track from Ṭarrâneh to the Natron Lakes follows the embankment to the edge of the desert, and then passes between two ancient settlements, one of which, that on the south, keeps near the alluvial land; the other on the north, namely Kûm abû Billûh proper, is of great extent, and reached out westward as far as the temple enclosure. The latter was apparently a point of gravitation or attraction for the expanding town, and no doubt formed an excellent defence against incursions from the desert.

The mound is very deeply covered with late rubbish, and I could not pierce to the base. So far as the pits went, red brick was invariably found. On the surface I picked up part of a circular glass weight (Arabic), a potsherd on which *MIXAHA* was written in red ink, and a Coptic, or Greek, jar-sealing stamped with a cross in a circle , around which was * * * * * ΤΗϹ ΔΕϹΠΟΙΝΗϹ "of the lady . . . . ." five letters being broken away. Besides these, I found the head of a ram from a large terra-cotta toy (?). An abundance of clear glass furnished also the well-known proof of late date. A Saite ushabti (Pl. xx.15)  "Set rā neferâb, daughter of Sen . . ." . . . found on the surface, had probably done duty as an amulet, and a similar explanation must be found for the occurrence of a much-worn specimen of the hunting scarab of Amenhotep III., which I bought from a native for 1 piastre. He told me that it was found in the Kôm. *Sibâkh* is not dug here, but burnt brick is continually sought for, and limestone as occasion requires. Many good bricks are found in the ancient cemetery, although the main part of every tomb is built of crude materials. On the north side of the town was the principal necropolis, but there were many burials also on the south side, and a few in late terra-cotta coffins a hundred yards west of the temple. Numerous chips of Roman limestone stelæ are found on the surface, and one was brought to me nearly perfect; upon it was sculptured in high relief a figure of the deceased in the attitude of teaching or haranguing. At the base was the inscription (Pl. xx. 14), *a*, "Protarkhus, son of Sotarion, 29 years old. Year 3, the 2nd day of Phamenoth," and above had been added another, *b*, "Tikinnas, son of Nemesus, Phamenoth (?) . . ." As to the tombs, I could not distinguish

[1] For this city see Naukratis II., pp. 78 ff.

any striking difference in date. All seemed to have been built of crude brick, but at the same time to contain burnt bricks.

The Bedawîn of the desert are much dreaded, and the ground west of the Tira'et el Khaṭaṭbeh is quite deserted except during the day-time; while part of the land is cultivated, the marshy ground affords good pasture for the sheep and oxen, which are ferried over the canal morning and evening. The shêkh of Ṭarrâneh, who was responsible for my safety, professed almost daily to be in mortal fear while my tent remained on the west side, and eventually he persuaded me to take it across, notwithstanding that the distance from the work was greatly increased by the move. His argument was that the Badawîn had a score to wipe off against the fellâḥîn. In the previous year, a convoy of about forty camels returning from the Wadi Natrûn, had bivouacked on the edge of the desert, when, at dead of night, a gun was fired in their very midst. By the side of the camels slept the drivers, well enough armed. These unlucky fellows sprang up in alarm, discharged their guns wildly, and took to their heels. In the morning the camels, of course, had gone, and their late owners were dismayed to find a Badawi dead on the ground: so now they are expecting vengeance. I inquired how many Arabs were engaged in this affair. The shêkh replied, "Perhaps a hundred, perhaps twenty, perhaps three or four, who can tell? They are like snakes!" He was quite aware that a little audacious trickery could win a big prize from the timid fellâḥîn.

II.—WORK AT HELIOPOLIS.

One day in December, 1887, I paid a visit to Heliopolis, and, having proceeded to the eastern gateway, walked out thence into the desert. Not far from the gateway lay a block of limestone, and beyond were numerous heaps of limestone chips ranged round hollows from which they had been dug out. This reminded me so strongly of the appearance of the great Saite tombs of Nebêsheh, though on a prodigiously large scale, that I felt bound to test some of the places. Accordingly, having a spare week in the month of February, I returned to Matarîyeh with a rêyis, and sunk pits by the side of some massive mud-brick walls, which I hoped would prove to be the sides of great tomb-chambers like No. 77 at Tell Nebêsheh; however, the bricks ceased at a depth of two or three feet in several separate trials.

Another point that it was necessary to ascertain was the nature of some remains at El 'Arab, north of the enclosure of Tell Ḥisn, or Heliopolis. About the year 1880, Dr. Grant had seen two monuments relating to Mnevis in this hamlet, and although they had since been removed or destroyed, there were chips, part of a limestone column, and, at a few yards' distance, some granite blocks visible in 1887. I therefore cut a few trenches and uncovered some more granite, one block having part of a figure of Tum sculptured upon it. This was satisfactory evidence that further remains might be discovered at a more favourable season of the year; for, in February, the water partially covered the blocks, and, moreover, my time was already spent.

While these trials were going on, I searched the neighbourhood for the scattered remnants of Heliopolis.

This great city, the centre of Egyptian sun-worship, in whose temple was believed to dwell the supreme god Rā-Tum-Harmachis-Khepṛà, and perhaps the life or *ka* of each king for the time being, has left substantial traces in the shape of a large mound of ruins surrounded by a massive enclosure wall; but its monuments, which must have far exceeded those of Thebes, at least in chronological range, have, with hardly an exception, vanished from the spot. The great obelisk of Usertesen II. and a few blocks of sandstone inscribed with the names of Rameses II. and III. may be seen by any visitor, but excavations have hitherto been barren to the last degree. Long before the collapse of pagan worship, its statues, sphinxes and obelisks were floated down the great river to Canopus and Alexandria, and thence were carried over the seas to adorn even the metropolis of the world, while in the middle ages the Arabs pitilessly quarried materials for the embellishment of Maṣr. To gather the scraps preserved in the villages around seemed an interesting and necessary duty. Alas! two quarto plates are more than sufficient to contain the results. Not that this slender amount represents the sum total of existing Heliopolitan inscriptions. Varying in size from the colossal obelisk to the delicate Saite statue, its monuments are to be found in many unexpected situations, not only in museums, but in the public squares of Europe and America, in the ruins of ancient Rome, and in the mosques of Cairo. Not the least striking is the great scarabaeus, symbol of Khepṛà, from Alexandria, now in the Egyptian gallery of the British Museum.

The following is the list of finds.

Pl. xxi. 1. *Qubbet Ṭûfíq* (north of 'Abbásîyeh) in the north-east gateway of a large government magazine, part of a sandstone architrave inscribed on two sides, much worn. "Setnekht, beloved of Horus in the three houses," XXth dynasty.

In the café garden at *Matarîyeh*, in 1886, I copied the cartouche of Amenhotep II. on a limestone slab (3), and a fragment from the back pilaster of a small Saite statue in basalt (2). These have since been removed. The inscription consists of a well-known but difficult formula, followed by a sentence in the third line which is unfortunately not complete. The names and titles also are fragmentary. It was for "the superintendent of the altars in the Great Temple (name of the temple at Heliopolis), the scribe of contracts (?) . . . [born of] Isit m Kheb."

4. *On the Tell* a small group in limestone, consisting of Osiris seated, holding crook and flagellum, headless (*a*, *b* on the back, *c* on the left side of the throne; the right side is mutilated). At either side of the throne stands a headless figure, on the kilt of the left is *d*, on the right *e*. This curious monument was too much damaged to be worth much bargaining for. The figures at the sides represented Rameses II. and his son Merenptah. The inscription on the back shows that it was dedicated by "the fan bearer, the . . . and washer of the hands of the king Rāmes user peḥti."

5, 6. Two examples of erased cartouches in limestone.

7. A fragment of limestone, one side (marked *a*) being re-used, probably in the time of the Ptolemies.

8, 9. Cartouches of Rameses II. and III. on sandstone blocks at the extreme west end or gateway of the temple. There is no apparent reason for supposing them to have been sphinxes.

Mesṭarad مسطرد (a village across the Baḥr Isma'iliyeh, marked but not named in Bædeker's map). The Coptic church was being rebuilt, and some old Coptic and Egyptian material was to be seen about it. In the yard is a shallow trough (?) or base for a statue (Pl. xxi. 10), on the sides of which is the inscription 10*a*, containing the cartouches of Rameses II., and the name of "Horus, lord of the festivals." The screen of the chancel cuts off half of a curious channelled stone (11) built into the step. The curved channel is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep. 11*a* is on the front of the stone, "Rameses II., great provider of food in the Great Temple of Heliopolis." 10 and 11, like most of the Heliopolitan monuments, are of the choice material quarried at Jebel Aḥmar; so also is a very large, slightly domed circular wright, diameter $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches, height $16\frac{1}{2}$. This lies near the church.

Behtîm بهتيم This village, though on almost level ground, has some considerable marks of antiquity; not only a very large granite block without visible sculpture, but also clear traces of having been encircled by a massive enclosure wall, which has been levelled by the sibâkh diggers. Fortunately, on the vantage-ground of this wall a number of shekhs' tombs had been erected, and so long as these retain their sanctity, some fragments of the brickwork will be preserved. On the north, beneath Sîdî 'Omar el Berâshi, is a lofty mass with the sides cut vertically as close to the tomb as the fellâḥîn could venture. On the south, beneath Shekh 'Alî Tôr, is a less noticeable piece; and on the west the cemetery and three shekhs have kept guard over a long strip. These three sides are well beyond the corresponding limits of the village; of the east wall there is no trace.

12. Almost buried in the pathway, at the corner of a group of houses in Behtîm, is a tantalizing fragment from an historical stela (Saite?). The coarsely-worked base (13) of a statue of Nefertari, queen of Rameses II., "beloved of Harmachis," lies in a large court-yard. At the mosque is a fine slab with the cartouches of Rameses II. In the fields on the north is (14) a scrap of inscription. All the above are in the hard crystalline sandstone of Jebel Ahmar.

Munṭai منطي, Damanhûr دمنهور, Bigâm بجام, and Belaqs بلقس, are noteworthy names.

15. I visited the latter, but found only a small sandstone fragment with the name of Harmachis. There are here the ruins of a large dyeing (?) establishment, that I was told was built by Muḥammad ('Alî) Pashâ. The ruined condition of this very massive building is extraordinary. It seems to have been undermined by floods.

16. At *Khasûs*, north of Heliopolis, are many fragments, viz., at a welî on the south-west, part of the cartouche of Nekhtnebef (rather than Usertesen I.), Gebel Aḥmar sandstone. 17. Cartouche of Rameses II. on a slab of limestone in the door of a mosque. Near it is the top of a small Ptolemaic (?) shrine, having two winged disks superposed in front over the door, but no inscription. A small, much-bruised statue, with a few signs (18) on the back pilaster, and a kneeling statue of sandstone (20), holding a shrine which contains a hawk, *d* is round the base, *a* on the left side of the shrine, *b* on the right, *c* on the front of the shrine, right side; the left of the same is destroyed. The statue is in a bad condition, and the upper part lost. It represented a high official of the XVIIIth or XXth dynasty named Sah nefer, called also Nekht Rā maā neb.

He was "divine father, *her seshta* of Heliopolis ?, governor," &c. At a shêkh's tomb on the east side of Khasûs is a block with three lines of the standard titles of Rameses III., and another also of three lines. The first line consists of the names of the same king, the remainder is given in the plate 19. A stone in one of the huts that we uncovered with much labour proved to be the tail and part of the hind quarters of a colossal sphinx in black granite; the fragment of inscription on the base was merely , &c.

21 and 22 are copies made by Dr. J. A. S. Grant of inscriptions at El 'Arab, between Khasûs and Tell Ḥisn. The first is on the figure of a bull (Mnevis) in limestone, with erased cartouches and the name of an official Baï. The copy can be corrected by the original, which was removed some years ago to Bûlâq. The other relates to the dead Mnevis and the King Apries.

On the north side of the enclosure of Ibrâḥîm Pashâ's palace is a small welî. The doorstep is a square block of sandstone sculptured round the edges ,—a most disappointing fragment of the base of a statue, since it gave me much trouble to examine.

Pl. xxii. A. At *El Merj*, in a hut, was a limestone slab from the tomb of a high priest of Heliopolis, named Pathenef, in which he was represented making offerings to his ancestors of twelve generations.

In the upper half Pathenef is represented "performing the ceremony of offerings for his fathers and mothers." In front are five of his ancestors seated. He is called "their son making their names to live, and loving them, the true relative of the king, loved by him, the hereditary prince, the chancellor, the favourite friend, the superintendent of the altar in the great temple of the northern On (Heliopolis), the prophet of . . . the priest, the Si meref, the servant of Neith, the superintendent of the prophets in the nomes, prophet of Hor Khent Khat (the god of Athribis), of Horus, lord of Shen, and of the gods of Ta [uhāt ?] . . . Pathenef."

In the second row, where there are seventy-three ancestors, his titles are "the hereditary prince, the prophet of Anhur-Shu, son of Ra (god of the Sebennytus)."

His ancestors were:—

(1) The hereditary prince, the chancellor, the favourite friend, the veneration of (?) the two lands, the chief prophet of Hor Khent Khat, lord of Athribis: of Amen rā, lord of the Northern Diospolis: the chief prophet of Anhur-Shu, son of Ra, lord of Sebennytus: of Isit the Elder, the divine mother, mistress of Hebît (Iseum): of Horus, lord of Shen (?): the superintendent of the altars in the great temple, the Si meref Khel, deceased, born of the sistrum-bearer of Rā Tum Septīt, daughter of the regulator of the altar in the great temple, the prophet of Shu and Tefunt, the king's relative Pedu . . .

(2) Son of the superintendent of the altars in the great temple, the Si meref . . . the priest of Amen rā in Heliopolis, the true and beloved relative of the king Pedu . . . born of the sistrum-bearer of Rā Tum . . . Isit.

(3) Son of the superintendent of the altars in the great temple, the king's relative Khel, born of the sistrum-bearer . . . daughter of Khel.

(4) Son of the superintendent, &c., prophet of Amen rā, in Heliopolis, the Si mer ef . . . the true and loving relative of the king, the

superintendent of the treasury, Pikar, born of the sistrum-bearer. . .

(5) Son of the superintendent of the altars in the great temple. . . .

(6) Son of the superintendent of the altars in the great temple, Peniusāas, born of the sistrum-bearer of Rā Tum Isit n kheb, daughter of the divine father Aufankh.

(7) Son of the superintendent of the altars in the great temple [Pi ?] kar, born of the sistrum-bearer of Rā Tum, Ankhesenmet, daughter of the priest Har nefer, son of Nesiusāas.

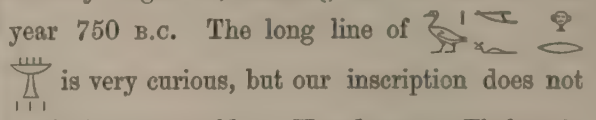
(8) Son of the superintendent of the altars in the great temple, Hor si Isit, born of the sistrum-bearer of Rā Tum Metmerts, daughter of . . . son of . . .

(9) Son of the superintendent of the altars of the great temple . . . n Hāp, born of the sistrum-bearer [of Rā Tum], Isit n kheb, daughter of [Pen] iusāas.

(10) Son of . . . Hor, son of Isit.

(11) Son of the prophet of Hap, father of the gods (the Nile) and of Neb Hotep, the great lady of . . . Aī.

(12) Son of the divine father, prophet of Hap [Pen ?] Iusāas.

It is evident that Pathenef and his father lived under the Sebennyte dynasty, since they held the priesthood of the Sebennyte god (l. 29 and 10). The two preceding generations, and perhaps the third, marked their passage through the XXVIIIth and XXIXth dynasties by holding the priesthood of Amen rā in Heliopolis; and probably the twelfth ancestor [Pen] iusāas fell in the XXVIth dynasty. Pathenef was no doubt buried before the second Persian invasion in 350 B.C., and thirteen generations before this date gives an additional 400 years; the accession of the twelfth ancestor to his paternal honours, such as they might be, reaching as far back as the year 750 B.C. The long line of  is very curious, but our inscription does not rival the story told to Herodotus at Thebes, in regard to the priesthood of the Egyptian Zeus,[1] but Pathenef's first recorded ancestor may well have seen the Ethiopian and Assyrian invasions.

The copy was made only as a temporary one. The hieroglyphs, sculptured in relief, are much worn: more time than I could spare, and a better position than the floor of a mud hut, are required to make an exact copy. When found, the slab was probably in excellent condition, but some ignorant person had tried to take a squeeze of it for the Cairo dealers, and the delicate relief had undergone much scraping with the sand and brush.

This slab is edged on two sides with a projecting cornice. A very similar piece was in a garden on the Tell, displaying a figure of Pathenef catching birds, &c., in the marshes. The latter, together with the rudely-worked stela (Pl. xxi. No. 23), and an incised figure from the village on the Tell, I secured and took to Bûlâq; but I was compelled to leave the genealogical slab, as the owner would not come to terms. Later on, when I found myself unable to re-visit the place, Count R. d'Hulst kindly undertook to secure this stone at an advance on the price first offered, and it is now safely lodged with its fellow, though I confess that I had hoped to see them in England.

I was informed that these two stones had been found recently in the Tell.

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[1] Hdt. II. 143. In the hall of the temple were the statues of 341 high priests who had held the office in a regular succession from father to son.

Pl. xxii. B. The name of Rameses I., together with the gods of Heliopolis, deciphered with some difficulty on a limestone fragment, completes the list.

The kings whose name I noted are therefore Usertesen I. (obelisk), Amenhotep II., Rameses I. and II., Merenptah, Setnekht, Rameses III., and Nekhtnebef.

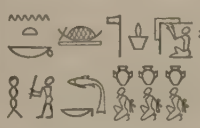
III.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The site of Skhedia (σχεδια or the toll bridges on the Canopic branch of the Nile), usually called Nishoo and Karioon, and Arabized by Mahmûd Bey, نشو, كريون, are actually pronounced Nishweh, Qaryûn, and it was a long time before the natives of Kafr ed dawar recognized what places I was inquiring for. There are extensive mounds, the debris being of the same class as at Alexandria and Canopus with comparatively little crude brick. The Roman rubbish is of great depth. Unfortunately I could not hear of any inscriptions, and the Ramesside blocks, mentioned by Wilkinson, have disappeared. They were probably only Roman importations.

At Abû Rowâsh[1] there are numerous rock-cut tombs near the *Ṭûb isôdeh*, one of which, visible from the top of the rock as a large square opening in a face of *white* limestone on a hill northwards, contains figures and a false door. At the lower end of the causeway, from the stone pyramid (which points to Ûsîm), there are large quantities of diorite chips, all sand-worn, and showing no traces of sculpture. Small square and round holes or sockets have been cut in the rock of the causeway at the same point.

At Ûsîm and its near neighbour Shembâreh, visited in 1886, I failed to find any inscription.

Beshâdî ابشادي, which I hoped would prove to be not only Ⲡⲯⲁϯ (Pshati, pronounced Bshadi), but also perhaps one or all of the classical cities of *Νικιου Μωμεμφις*, and *Προσωπις*, together with some hieroglyphic equivalent, is the most insignificant village that can well be imagined, without a trace of antiquity about it. Near by, at Dimishê دمشاي, is a slight mound, but nothing important, and I could not hear of any likely site in the neighbourhood.

Naqrâsh. At this village, the name-sake of Naukratis, there is a hieroglyphic inscription[2]  in one vertical line between androgynous Nile-figures. It may perhaps be translated, "thou bringest offerings, he hides it from his children, the truly great, smiting the perverse."

At Tell Baqlîyeh, south from Manṣûreh, is a temple enclosure covered with chips of limestone and Gebel Aḥmar sandstone; but the site of the temple itself has been deeply excavated (not recently), and water is standing in it. At the western entrance are numerous blocks of red and black granite, unsculptured, and some capitals apparently unfinished. The enormous blocks have been split to pieces by wedges in the usual way. There are no visible town remains, but round the temple enclosure is an artificially raised cemetery with remains of human and animal (cats?) mummies, limestone coffins, &c. I found two debased Saite ushabti thrown out from a newly-opened grave. This cemetery has been

[1] Petrie Pyramids, 2nd ed., p. 54.

[2] cf. Naukratis II., p. 80.

almost entirely ravaged by fellahîn and dealers, and little or nothing can now be learned from it. There can be no doubt that the place was occupied only for a short time, probably during the reigns of the Mendesian or Sebennyte kings. The tombs are all on a small scale.

Tellê Billeh, north-east from Manṣûreh; a small mound. At this place I found abundantly a large marsh-loving shell that was much used for food in Roman times at Naukratis, to judge from the numbers of old shells in the topmost strata. Mr. Edgar Smith, of the Natural History Museum, has identified it as *Ampullaria ovata*, Olivier var, *Kordofana* Parreyss. Noteworthy names on the road are: Ṭannâḥ, with some signs of antiquity, Baranaqs, near a small late mound, and Sablent.

At Damanhûr, the capital of the province Gharbîyeh, and the ancient Hermopolis parva, I could not find any inscriptions.

Qanṭareh. The inscription on the base of the larger monolith[1] should read

"He (Rameses II.), made it as his monument to his father, Horus, Lord of Mesen, and he set up his image in stone of *bat*. Behold, his majesty found it becoming covered up, upon the foundation many centuries old." The image was therefore an ancient one.

[1] Nebesheh, Pl. li., cf. Prisse, Mon., Pl. xix. 2, and Nebesheh, p. 104.

IV.—EL ʿARÎSH.

After making considerable collections of material for a memoir on the northern caravan route from Egypt to Syria, I find myself compelled, by the pressure of other work, to throw them aside and restrict myself to the shortest possible explanation of the four plates headed El ʿArîsh.

The shrine forms the *pièce de resistance*, and to copy its inscriptions was the object of my journey through the desert. This long text refers to the sanctuary of the twentieth nome of Lower Egypt, that of Arabia, whose capital Qes, or Qesem, has been identified with the Biblical Goshen.[2] The warlike God Sepd was worshipped at Qes, and guarded the eastern frontier; it is therefore possible that Sepd was worshipped in the Egyptian coast cities east of Pelusium,[3] and the classical reader might think that Zeus Casius, whose temple stood at the present Qels, or Qess, on the north side of Lake Serbonis (Sabkhat Berdawîl) was really the God of Qes, transported from his seat at Saft el Henneh; but if Sepd has been changed to Zeus (Zevs), it can only be by the error of ignorant Greek sailors; for Sepd is identified with Shu,[4] and Shu is properly Ares not Zeus: so until a *Sepd neb Qes* 'Sepd of Qes,' 'Sepd Casius' is found to have been worshipped at Casius, we must not conclude anything rashly about the name. It seems practically certain that the shrine of Sepd or Shu, now at El ʿArîsh, was

[2] See M. Naville's memoir on Goshen.

[3] There is reason to suppose that Horus of Mesen, the god of T'aru or T'al, was the principal god in this district. Cf. Nebesheh, &c., p. 106.

[4] Pl. xxiv. l. 10 and Goshen, Pl. ii. and p. 10, but also probably with Harmachis and some other deities.

carried thither from Goshen after the fall of paganism.

This naos is no doubt of the Ptolemaic epoch. It is of black granite, pointed at the top, four feet high, two feet seven inches broad, and two feet from back to front. Turned ignominiously on its back, it has seen hard service as a water-trough, so that the stone has been worn away from the front to the depth of an inch, carrying with it all the dedicatory inscription. The angles and edges are also worn away, and the inscription on the left [1] side has been destroyed by natural scaling. However, the inscriptions of the right side and back are complete excepting at the edges; in all there remain seventy-four lines, besides some scraps visible on the left side. The left hand ends of l. 4—6 in Pl. xxv. are terminated by a vertical line, probably the last trace of a compartment which contained an incised figure of some deity, relic or building. The hieroglyphics throughout are small and rather ill-defined.

The shrine was closed by double doors, fitting in a frame (see Pl. xxiii.). The upper sockets (*a*) are $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter, the lower ones (*b*) are $\frac{7}{8}$ in. There is a bolt-hole at the bottom (*c*), but not at the top.

The text engraved on the outside enumerated the sacred spots in At nebus, "the place of the Sycamore?" a name by which the priests designated the city of Qesem, assigning them at the same time their position in mythical history during the successive reigns of the gods Ra, or Tum, Shu, and Seb.

[1] The terms "left" and "right" here and in the plates are to be taken in the sense of "proper left" and "proper right," as if the spectator were looking out from the shrine; but I admit that the position would be exceedingly uncomfortable.

It commences on the right side, Pl. xxiv. 1.

"The majesty of Shu was as a good? king of heaven, earth, and the underworld, of water and winds, of the primeval waters, of hills and of the sea, [giving] all regulations upon the throne of his father Rā Harmakhis as triumphant. Now behold the majesty of Shu was in [his] palace in Memphis: his majesty said to the great cycle of nine gods which followed him, "Come now, let us proceed to the Eastern[2] [horizon], to my palace in At Nebes,[3] and see our father Rā-Harmakhis in the Eastern horizon: let us pass? [thither] by the canal (??), let us employ ourselves? in ordering our palace in At Nebes." Then they did according to all that his majesty decreed: The majesty of Shu [proceeded] to his palace in the House of the Aart.[4] Then were built all the apartments? of Hat Nebes[5] [like] heaven upon its four supports: then was built the house of Sepd anew for (?) the majesty of Shu, it is the temple that he loves; [account of] all its arrangements as to the points to which it faced, whether towards the south the north the west or the east: the temples were erected [in] all the [pla]ces where they had been: eight chapels were made on the left, eight on the right, eight in the court? of the Eastern Horizon:[6] This [temple belongeth] to Shu in his name of Sepd lord of the East: the face of each of these chapels was towards its fellow: [they were] the apartments? [of the] great cycle of nine gods, and of the lesser cycle, of the gods who attend on Ra and the gods who attend on Shu: moreover there were built enclosures for Shu in [Hat Nebe]s? surrounding his temple: (now) the face of this temple was towards the East, the sun's rising; and those (deities) who dwelt [in the places of] the temples of each nome dwelt in it, in case? the nome should fall into confusion, let one explain?[7] this arrangement: [the enclosure of Hat?] Nebes reached to Hat Nebes on its north, and its face was towards the South: the temples were on [its] sides and their faces [were] towards the East: a pool was on its South side, a pool on its North side: a great storehouse? of [. . . .] was in front of this temple reaching to Per Art. Now Per Art was of the time of? Rā: the majesty of Shu placed his staff upon the At [. . . and it became] a sacred locality in At Nebes, its southern face was towards the Per Art: gods, goddesses, men, and all

[2] Or the horizon of Bekhat. Bekhat was the mountain from which the sun rose. At Nebes was particularly the city of the rising sun. The solar connection is shown also by the fragment of a shrine in the Louvre, on which are figured the decanal deities. [Louvre, D. 37.]

[3] The place of the Sycamore? sanctuary of the city of Goshen.

[4] Cf. Per Art in l. 16 &c., a new name of a locality in Goshen.

[5] The house of the Sycamore?

[6] Probably the sanctuary.

[7] Very doubtful.

flesh (animal creation?) had not entered it [to] see the secrets in the horizon: it (the privilege?) was granted in the time of Rā, who made a great wall standing around it of [. . . .] cubits on its four sides, 20 cubits high, 15 cubits thick. As to the sacred lake in At Nebes it was [. . . . .] cubits [. . . .] of At Nebes: Shu himself digged it in the time of the majesty of Rā: its arrangement was not[1] seen nor sealed? to [gods—goddesses?] men and flesh: A circuit was set up on every side of it, of 190 cubits (in length), 110? cubits in its breadth [. . . . cubits] in height, 15 cubits in thickness: separating all temples from? it[2] by mysterious and secret work? in [. . . .] Then came the majesty of Shu and raised up At Nebes even as the sky is fixed, and all its temples even as the horizon. Now it happened that [he] departed [to be enthroned] as king of the gods in At Nebes, at the time that he ascended? the throne of Harmakhis.[3] Then the children of the dragon Apep, the evil-doers [of Usheru?] and of the red country[4] came upon the road of At Nebes, invading Egypt at nightfall . . . . . now these evil-doers came from the Eastern hills [upon] all the roads of At Nebes: then the majesty of Shu, the gods who attend Rā and the gods who attend Shu caused [to be fortified?] all the places around At Nebes: these places were since the time of Rā when the majesty of Rā was in At Nebes. . . . . At Nebes they are the mighty walls of Egypt repelling the evil-doers when Apep penetrates? to Egypt: the gods who are in them are the defences of this land, they are the supports of heaven that watch? the . . . of the eternal horizon: they are the throne? of Shu in Hat Nebes: those who dwell in the places in At Nebes they raise the land . . . . . Per Sepd: they are the spirits of the East to . . . Ra Harmachis they elevate Ra to heaven in the morning upon? the pillars of heaven: they are the possessors of the Eastern hills: they are the rescuers of Ra from Apep. Account of all the [places] around Hat Nebes together with the gods who are in them: the Place of the Whirlpool?[5] in At Nebes is a pool upon the East of Hat Nebes in which the majesty of Ra proceeded." (Another pool is mentioned on the East of Hat Nebes.)

Pl. xxvi. 1, 2. The fragments of the inscription show that the list of localities was continued on the left side.

Pl. xxv. (back). "Now it came to pass that the majesty of Shu obtained the whole land, none could stand before him, no other god was in the mouth of his soldiers? [but sickness came upon him?] . . . . . confusion seized the eyes? he made his chapel . . . . evil fell upon this land, a great disturbance in the palace, disturbed . . . . . those who were of the household of Shu. Then Seb saw [Tefnut] and loved her greatly, his heart desired her: he wandered over? the earth in search of? her in great affliction.[6] The majesty of Shu departed to heaven with his attendants: Tefnut was in the place of her enthronement in Memphis. Now she proceeded to the royal house of Shu in the time of mid-day: the great cycle of nine gods were upon the path of eternity,[7] the road of his father Ra Harmakhis. Then the majesty of [Seb met her] he found her in this? place which is called Pekharti?: he seized her by force: [the palace was in great [affliction]. Shu had departed to heaven: there was no exit from the palace by the space of nine days. Now these [nine] days were in violence and tempest: none whether god or man could see the face of his fellow. The majesty of Seb came forth appearing? upon the throne of his father Shu: every royal dwelling? did him homage. Then after 75 days Seb proceeded to the North country: Shu had flown up to heaven, the great chief of the plain at the head of his city?? the prince of the hills . . . came? he went not to Heliopolis: moreover? certain Asiatics carried his sceptre, called Degai, who live on what the gods abominate; behold he went to the East of Usher:[8] He entered the house of the Aar the Eastern gate? of At Nebes: he discussed the history of this city with the gods who attended him [and they told him] all that happened when the majesty of Ra was in At Nebes, the conflicts of the king Tum in this locality, the valour of the majesty of Shu in this city, the deeds of Shu in . . . . the [wonders] of the goddess Ankhet done to Ra when he was with her:[9] the victories of the majesty of Shu, smiting the evil ones, when he placed her (the serpent) upon his brow. Then said the majesty of Seb I also [will place] her upon my head even as my father Shu did. Seb entered Per Aart together with the gods who were with him: then he stretched forth his hand to take the case in which [Ankhet] was: the snake came forth and breathed[10] its vapour upon the majesty of Seb, confounding him greatly: those who followed him fell dead: his majesty? burned with this venom? his majesty proceeded to the north of At Nebes with this burning of the uraeus Hert Tep, then his majesty reached the fields of *henna*[11] but [his

---

[1] I have omitted before in the plate (xxv. l. 20).

[2] Or "contained in it."

[3] At Heliopolis?

[4] The desert on the north-east border.

[5] The reading of this name is unknown.

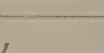
[6] Or for a long time.

[7] Accompanying the sun?

[8] Usher which seems to occur also Pl. xxiv. 25, would literally mean "desert."

[9] After l. 13 the loss from the left-hand end of the lines seems to be exaggerated in the plate.

[10] The word used is *ankh* for the sake of alliteration with the name *Ankhti*.

[11] *Henu* plant  : in l. 25 the district is called the "land of the *henu*." The modern name of Goshen, *Saft el henna*, suggests a meaning: large quantities of henna ﺣﻨﺎ *Lawsonia inermis*, are grown there now. The *henu* plant was used in the treatment of stings or snake-bites (cf. Pap. Ebers 29, 11), and the name occurs even in the Pyramid texts as of a green plant or shrub (Pyr. Teta l. 100);

majesty] was not healed? then he said to the gods who followed him, "Come! let this Aar (cap? or wig?) of Ra be brought here." [They said to him: "Nay] let thy majesty go to see its mystery: it will heal his majesty [of that which is?] . . . upon thee": behold the majesty of Seb had the Aart placed upon his head in? the Per Aart and had made for it a box of real hard stone (or metal), it was hidden in [this?] place, namely, the Per Aart near the sacred Aart of the majesty of Ra: then was healed this heat in the limbs of the majesty of Seb. Now years passed after this, then this Aart of the majesty of Seb was taken [back] to the Per Aart in? the At Nebes: it was carried to the great lake of Per Aart: (the place of the whirlpool? is its name) to wash it: behold this Aart became a crocodile: when it reached the water it became Sebek in At Nebes.

Now when the majesty of Ra Harmachis [fought] with the evil-doers in this pool, the Place of the Whirlpool, the evil-doers prevailed not over his majesty. His majesty leapt into the so-called Place of the Whirlpool? his legs became those of a crocodile, his head that of a hawk with bull's horns upon it: he smote the evil-doers in the Place of the Whirlpool? in the Place of the Sycamore: the Aart of Seb also in its turn did after this sort.

Now the majesty of Seb appeared in the seat of the crocodile gods, of Sebek-Ra, of Shu, of Seb, and of Osiris-Ra, upon the throne of his father Shu as king of gods of men and all flesh, in heaven, earth and the underworld, water, hills, winds, the ocean and the rocks: his majesty was in his castle of Ruling the Two Lands in the Land of Henna? his majesty had sent messengers to summon to him the foreigners and Asiatics from their land. Now the majesty of Seb said to the great cycle of nine gods that accompanied him, "What did my father Shu when first he appeared upon the throne of his father Atum, when the majesty of Shu was in his castle in At Nebes." This cycle of nine gods said to the majesty of Seb: "When thy father Shu appeared upon the throne of his father Atum, he smote all those who injured his father Atum: he slew the children of Apep: he made all the enemies of his father Ra to shrink. Now after he had given refreshing shade? to the two lands, to the gods and mortals who followed Atem, lord of the Northern? Anu,[1] he brought water to the cities, he ordered the nomes, he raised up the walls of Egypt, he built the temples in the South country and the North": the majesty of Seb said to these gods, "Tell me the places which were made in the time of the majesty of Ra which he set up over the land: also tell me the nomes which the majesty of Shu formed (lit. built) in his time: I will proclaim? the places of the time of the majesty of Ra in all the nomes formed by the majesty of [Shu]. For I shall form them anew, I desire to make them in my reign." They read before the majesty of Shu, out of the hieroglyphics . . . . . myriads of?? localities proclaimed by the majesty of Ra in all the nomes which the majesty of Shu formed and registered in writing in the time of the majesty of Atum when he was [on earth?] and at the time that Shu ascended the throne of his father Ra, and at the time that Seb ascended the throne of his father Shu. Names of? the places themselves? the nomes according to their names, excepting the nomes formed by the majesty of Ra in his time. Abu (Elephantine), Nekheb (Eileithyiapolis), Southern Behud (Apollinopolis Magna), Neshent, Northern? Uas (Diospolis in the Delta), Anu (Heliopolis), Ab? Khenit (Silsilis) Makhenu, Per Merit, . . . Hef, Anit (Latopolis) Southern An (Hermonthis), Abdu (Abydos), Hat Sekhem (Diospolis parva), Neshit, Per Benu, Hat Desher, Eastern Behud, Met (Aphroditopolis), Ap (Panopolis), Unnu (Hermopolis Magna), . . . urt Reqrert (Lycopolis), Aner Tehen, Per Desher, At Red, Khai, Henensuten (Heracleopolis Magna), Ta She (in the Fayoum), Hat Shedi (Crocodilopolis), Bend, Ta Desher?, She . . . .

These names unfortunately do not follow any order, and many of the localities are difficult to identify.

Inside, the sculpture is much worn and choked with incrustation. The back was plain, but on either side there were five bands of sculpture, each about twelve inches long and four inches wide, consisting of several representations of deities, sacred animals and emblems, shrines, pylons, &c., with short explanatory texts (see Pl. xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4). These may have presented a plan of some portion of the temple area, marking the sacred localities and shrines. We see in 2 the serpent goddess "Her tept in the Place of the Sycamore" (see Pl. xxv. l. 16), and behind her "the gate of . . . . in the time of Ra." In 3 are shrines containing head-dresses of the form known as *nems*, but possibly the *Aart* of Shu and Seb, and the Sata or "cobra" which bit Seb (pl. xxv. l. 15). 4 is one of two crocodiles, and

but there is no positive evidence for identifying it. I am informed by Mr. P. E. Newberry (cf. his note in Petrie's Hawara, p. 53) that Schweinfurth found henna amongst the plants from a tomb of the eighteenth dynasty. The Copts seem to have applied to it the Greek name κύπρος, and the native Coptic name is unknown to us.

[1] Heliopolis; in the original, *Southern* An or Hermonthis must be a mistake.

must represent the crocodile form of Ra (l. 22) or Seb (l. 21); see p. 73. A prolonged examination might lead to the recovery of the figures and inscriptions, but I could decipher only a few scraps.

The shrine is now placed in the citadel as a trough for cattle and reservoir for a small fountain in the courtyard.

On the south side of El 'Arîsh are the ruins of Rhinocolura, partly buried under sand drifts. Not far from the citadel a stone building of Christian period was discovered by a man planting palm trees; I give a plan on Pl. xxvi. of the portion that was cleared by the order of the governor. The walls are built of, and faced with, thin slabs of fossiliferous limestone, a harder ochreous or reddish stone being used for the pavement and thresholds. The numerous niches are raised about 2 ft. 6 in. above the floor. The most elaborate of these (fig. 3), with crosses on the pilasters, is at *a* in the plan. It measures 1 foot 3 inches in depth, and the framing projects 5 inches from the wall. At *b* is a similar niche, but without the crosses and rather smaller: *c* and *g* are like *b*, 3 feet high: *d* and *e* are round-headed, small, one foot in depth, and the edges flush with the wall. *f* and *h* are similar to *d*, but 2 feet 8 inches high; *i* resembles *b* but is almost flush; *j*, *k* are of the type fig. 2, the former 2 feet high. In the corner at *l* is a large semicircular or apsoidal domed niche, reaching to the pavement, and intended possibly for a religious purpose; *m*, *n*, *o* are imperfect, *p* resembles *b*; and *q*, the position of which I did not note, is like fig. 2, measuring 18 inches by 2 feet 2; *r* is a trap-door with frame to receive a slab, forming the entrance into a crypt with barrel roof, measuring 10 ft. 6 × 6 ft. 6, well built and the walls plastered, but without graffiti. In the centre of each end is a small square niche, plain, with projecting edges, and in each side a similar niche flush with the wall. I should suppose that this chamber was a treasury or strong-room rather than a prison-cell.

(See also *Academy*, May, 1888, p. 132; in the last line of the letter, North-East should be corrected to North-West. Note also that Χαβρίου χάραξ means the 'camp' not the 'ditch' of Chabrias.)

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[1] At p. 43 I have wrongly attributed this to Merenptah. The head of Set was cut away and then probably replaced by that of Osiris in stucco: the group now presents a curious appearance.—F. L. G.

[2] With regard to M. Naville's ingenious comparison of Bubastis Agria with the name *ntr skht* (p. 23), it may be pointed out that a more natural interpretation of the first would be "the fierce Bast," a term by which the Greeks, familiar with the mild goddess of Bubastis, designated the avenging goddess Sekhet; and "the divine inhabitant of the meadows of the god" is not improbable for the second. The two expressions have, at least on this view, little in common.—F. L. G.

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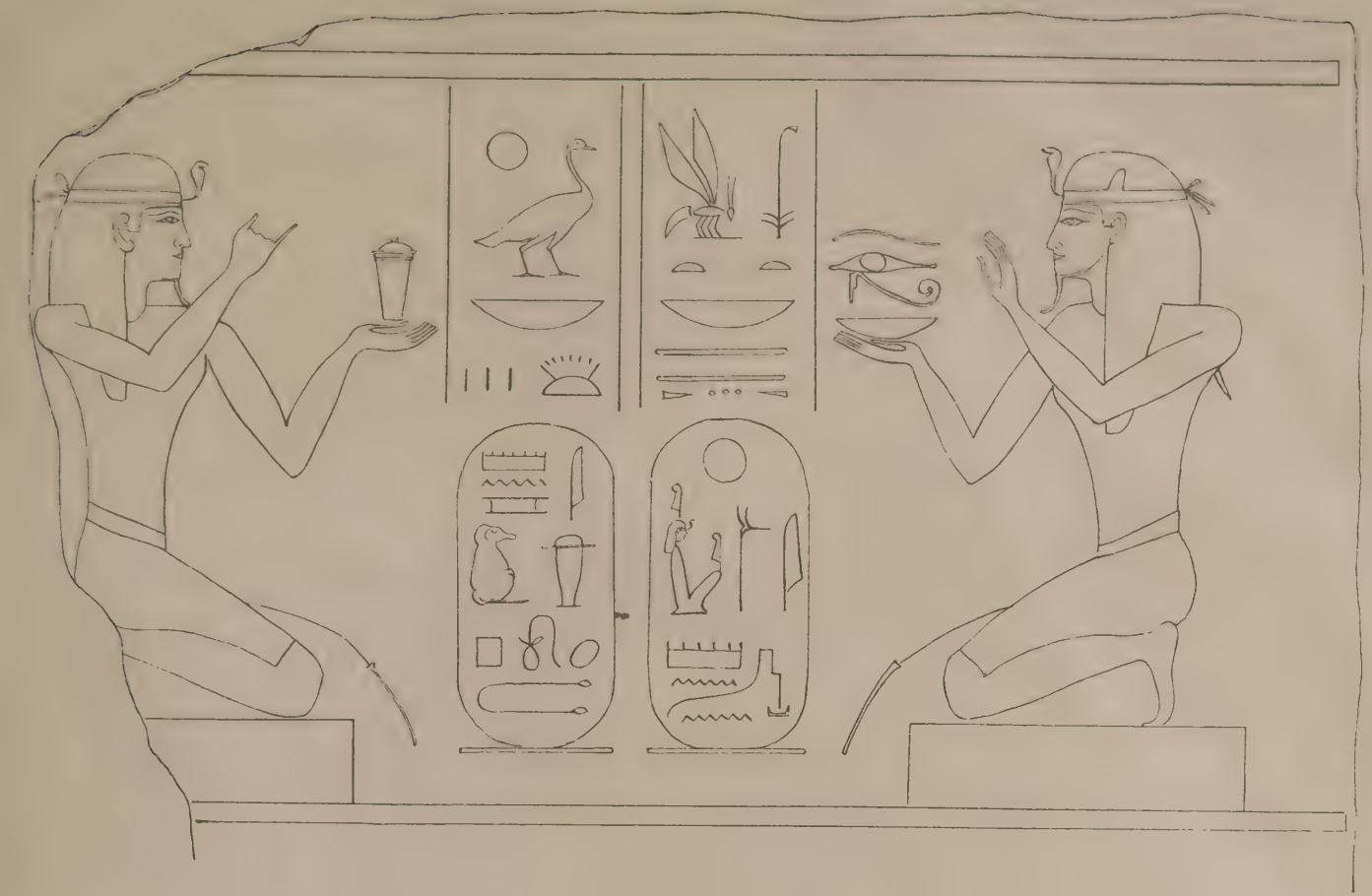

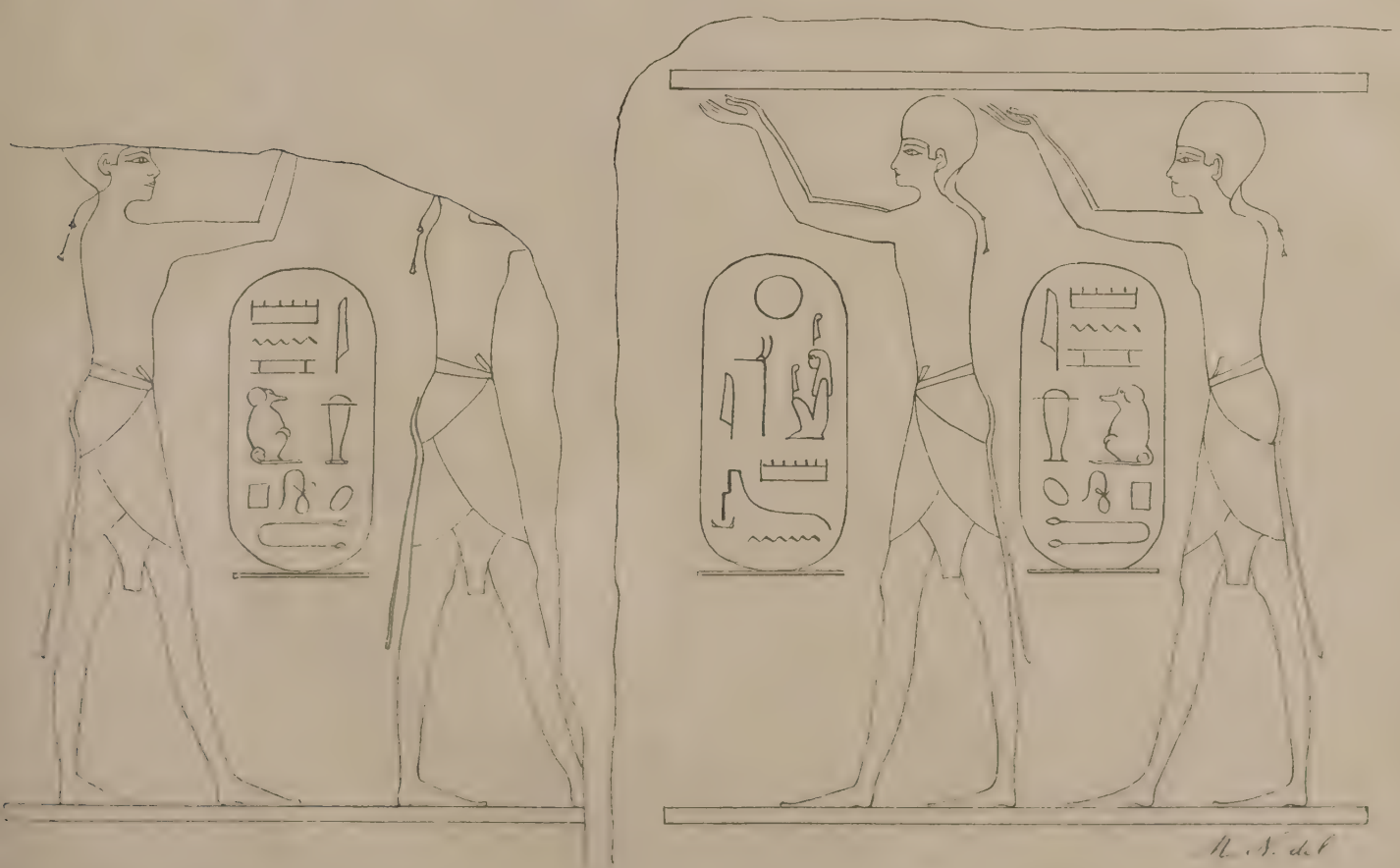

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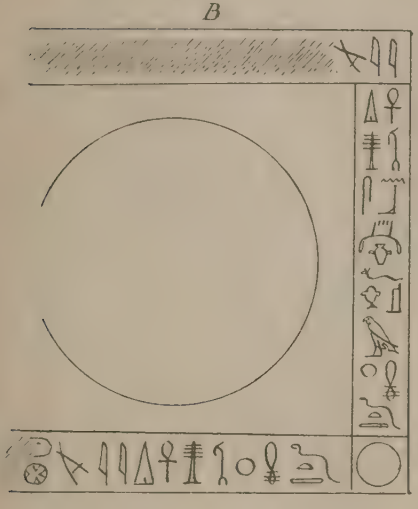

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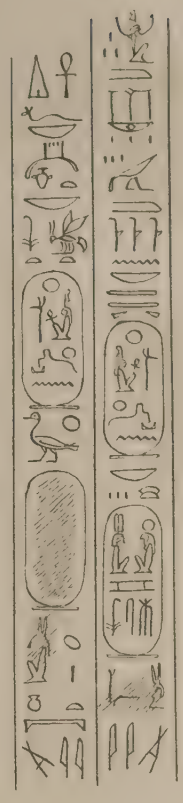

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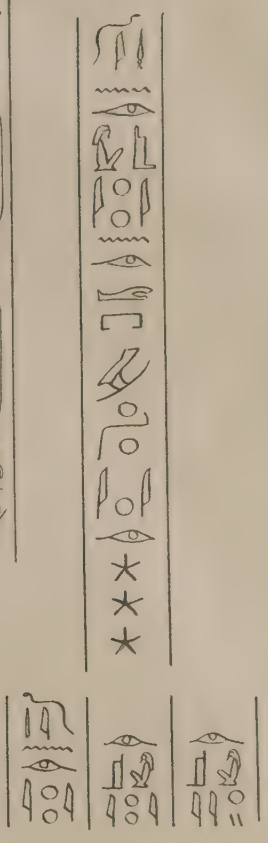

BELBEIS

a

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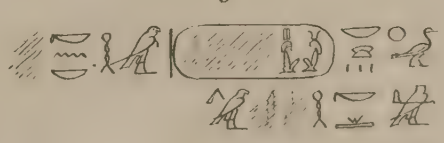

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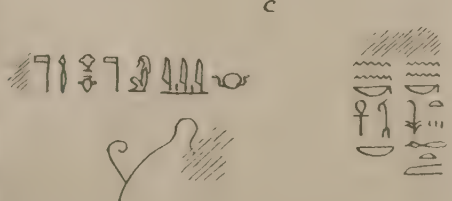
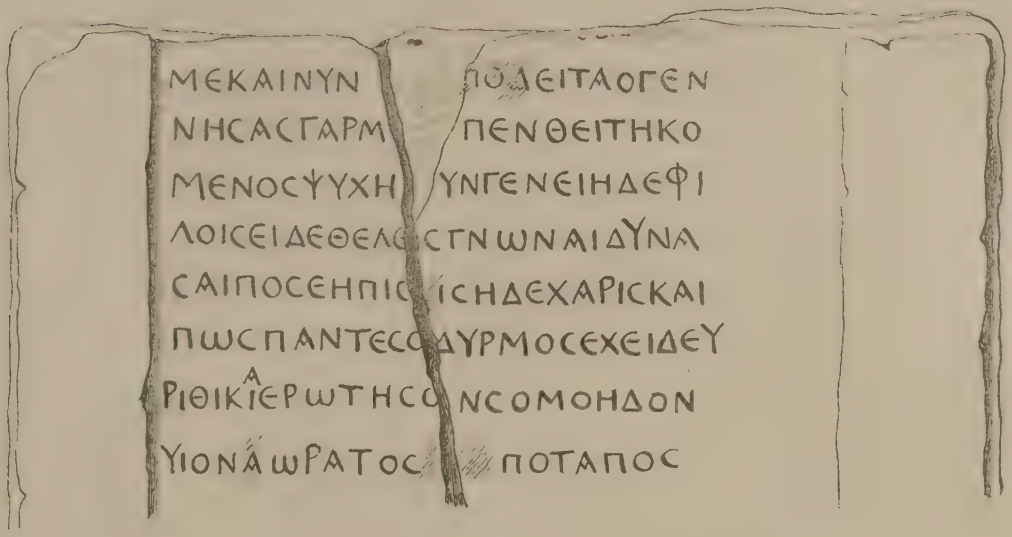


SAFT EL HENNEH

d

A

B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ΜΕΝΟCΨΥΧΗ ΥΝΓΕΝΕΙΗΔΕΦΙ
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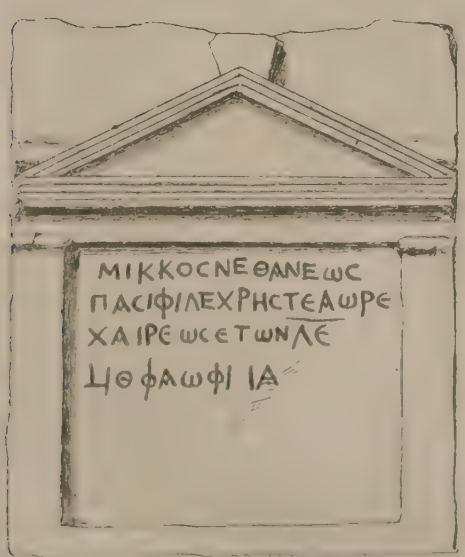
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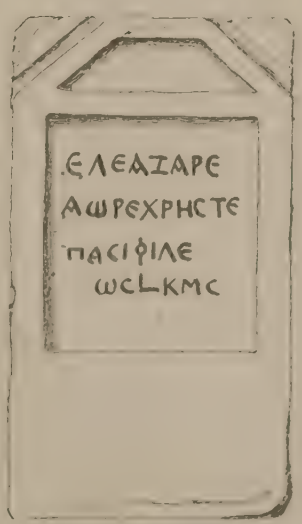
ΙΘΦΑΩΦΙΙΑ

D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ΩCLKMC

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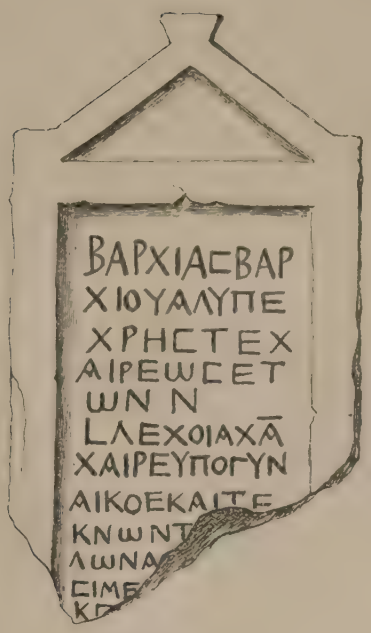
E



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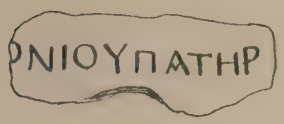

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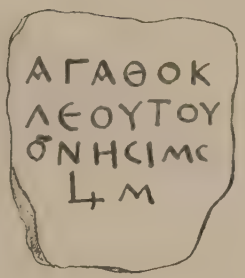

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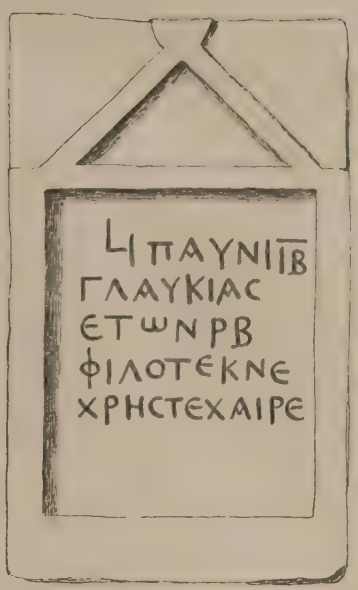

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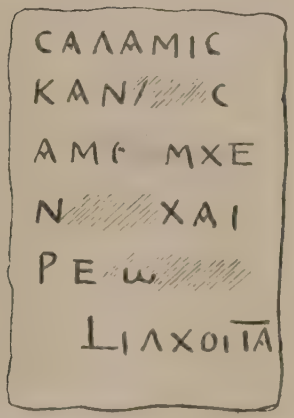

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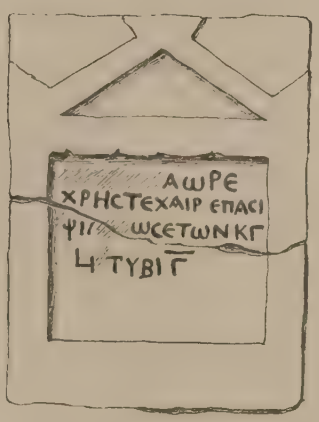

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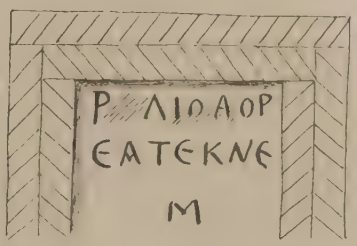

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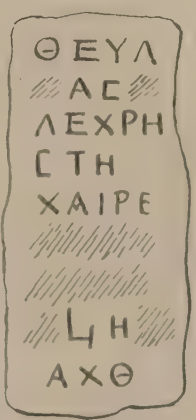

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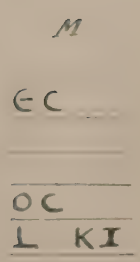
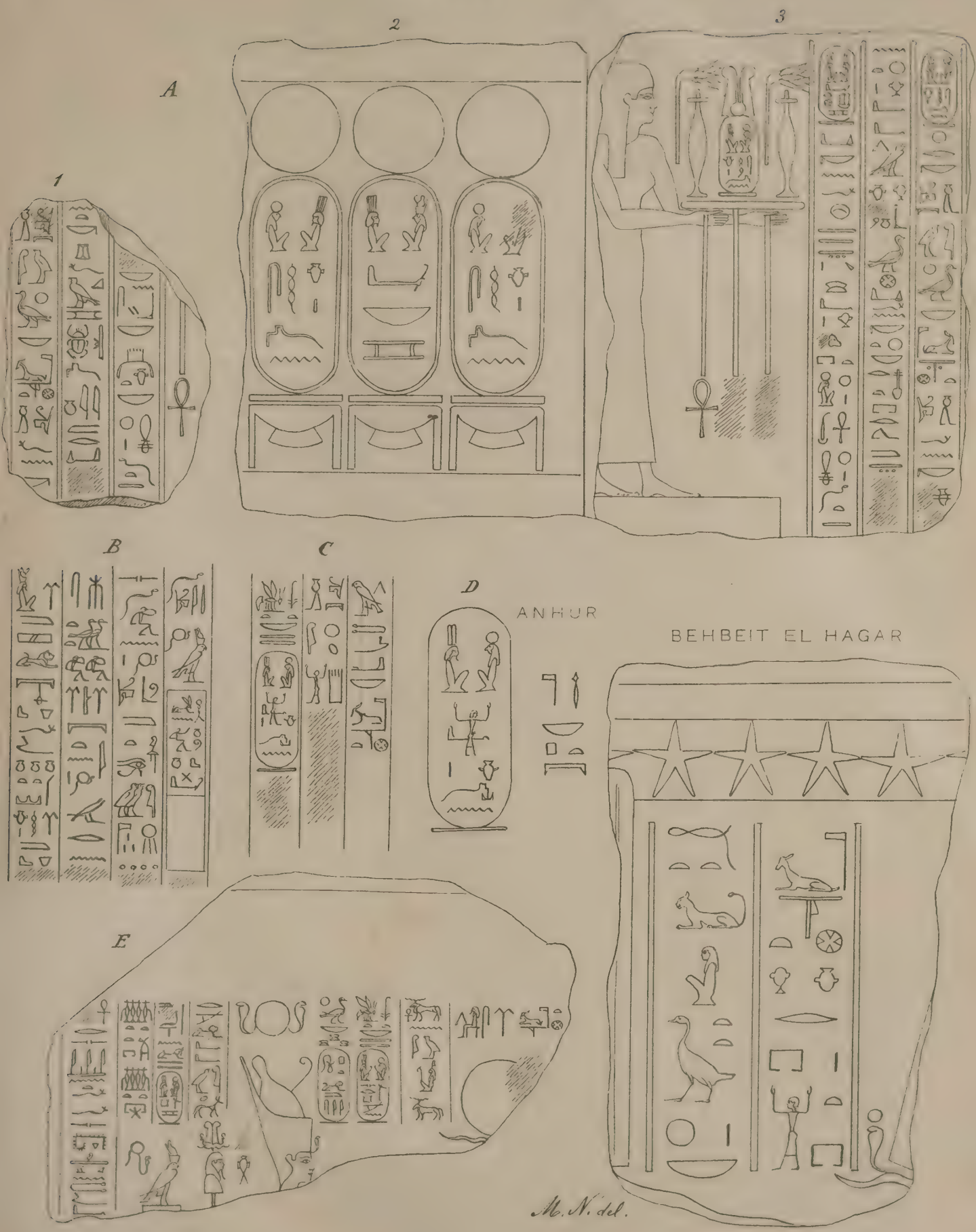


M. N. del.


A
1
2
3
B
C
D
ANHUR
BEHBEIT EL HAGAR
E
M. N. del.

A

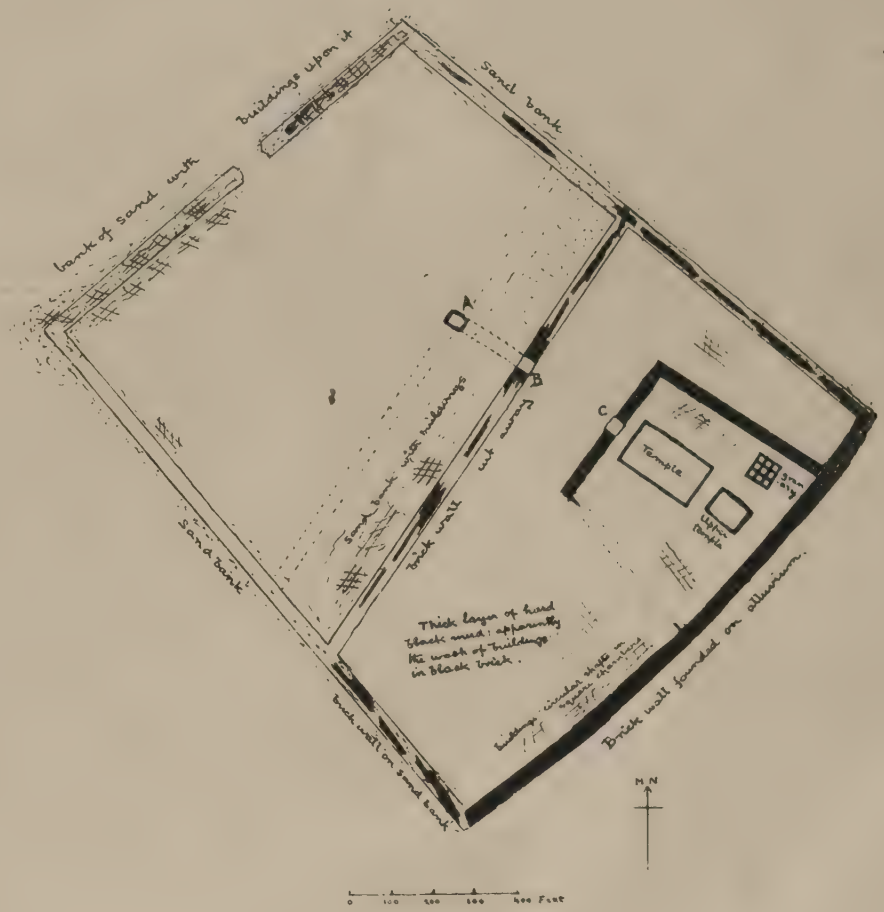
B

C

Plan of the Tell or fortified enclosure; showing the inner and outer ramparts of sand, the latter on the East crowned with ancient brick walls.
scale 1:10,000

Rough map, showing the position of the Tell, the Gezirah and the cemeteries in the desert founded on the map of the French Description

Tell el Yahûdiyeh



Tel Tukh. The whole mound is contained in the enclosure.

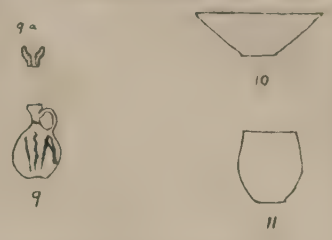
F.L.G. del

TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH DYN. XII. *scarabs, glazed steatite.*

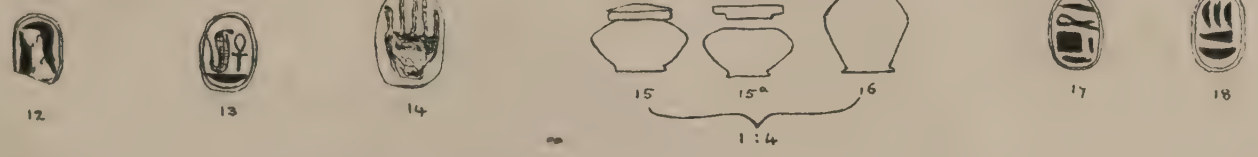
1:8

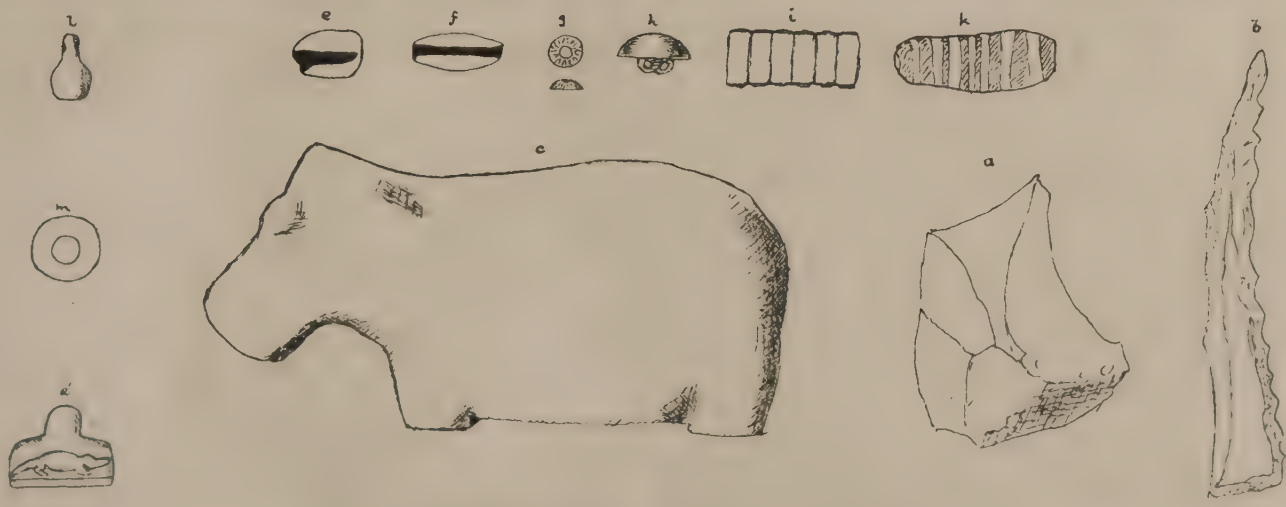
Types of black pottery

1:8



grave 2 and 3 in geziroh





Objects from a factory

FL 6 del

1.

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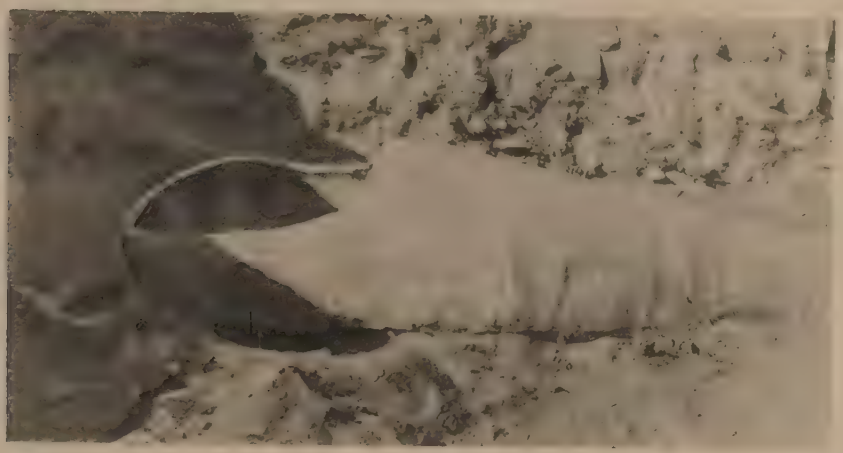
3.

1. TUMULUS III. 10. 2. TUMULUS IV. 3. TUMULUS VIII.

1.

2.



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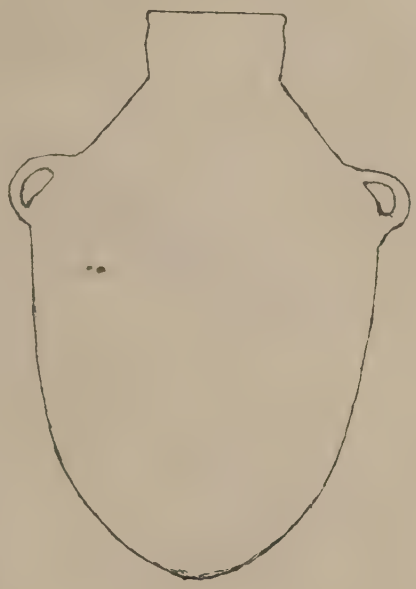
1. TUMULUS VIII. 2. TUMULUS III. 3. TUMULUS IV. 6 AND 8.

1

2



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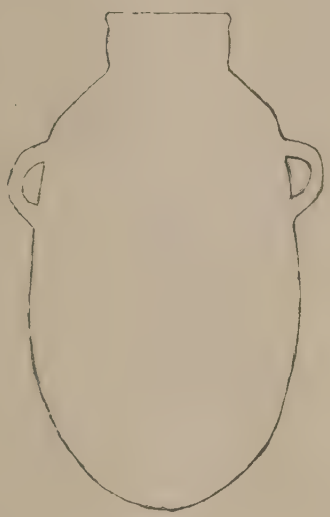

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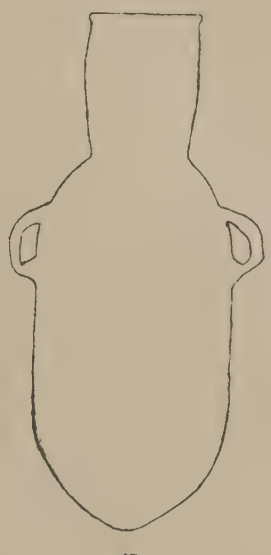

5

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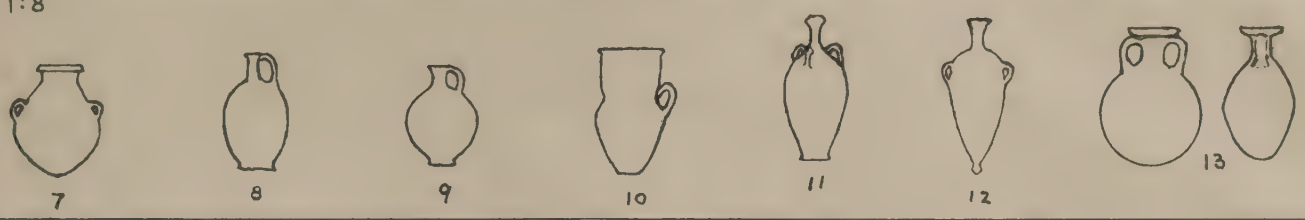
7

F.L.G. del.

From the tumuli Dyn xx

1:8

1:8



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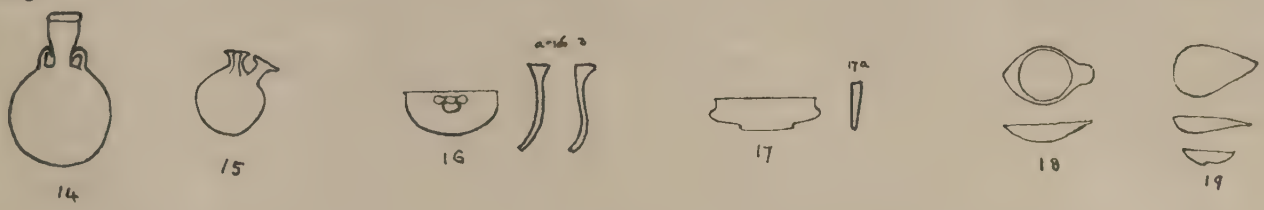

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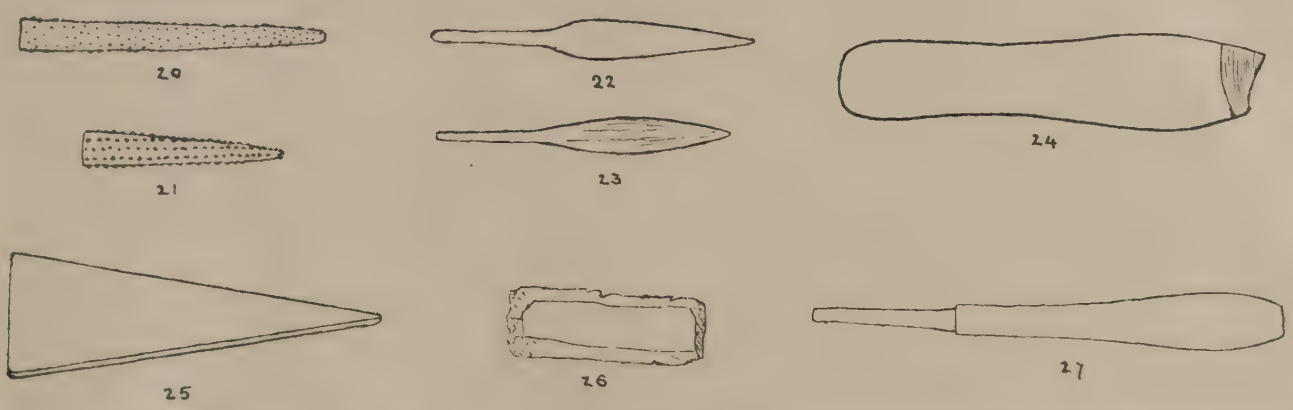
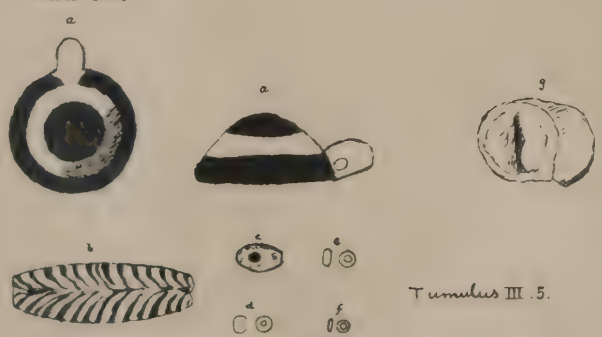
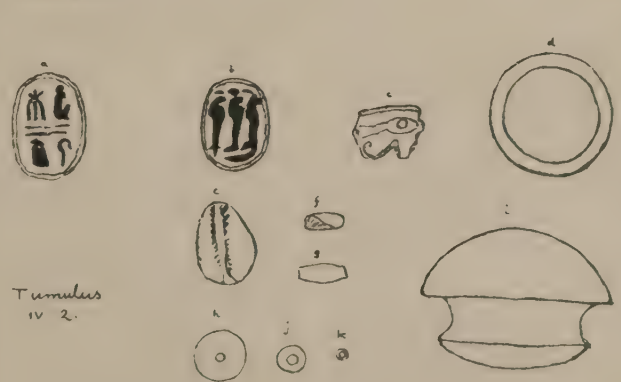


Actual size



Tumulus III. 5.

Actual size



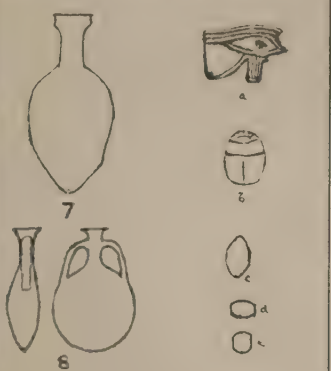
Tumulus IV 2.

F.L.G. del.

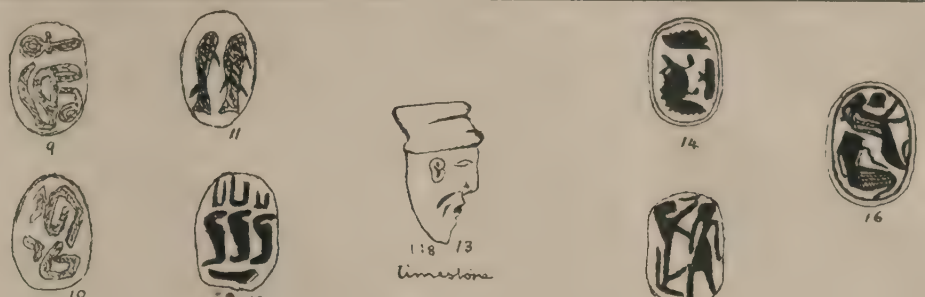
Tumulus IV. 8

scarabs Tum. III and IV.

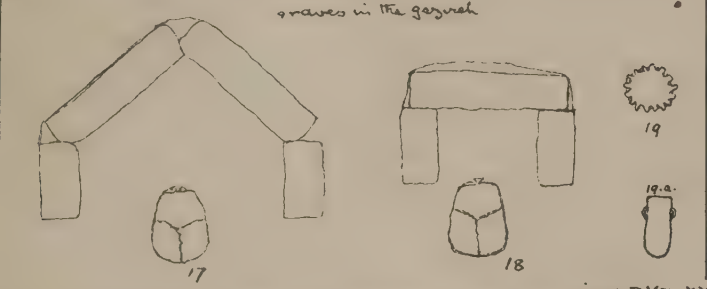
marks on pottery.



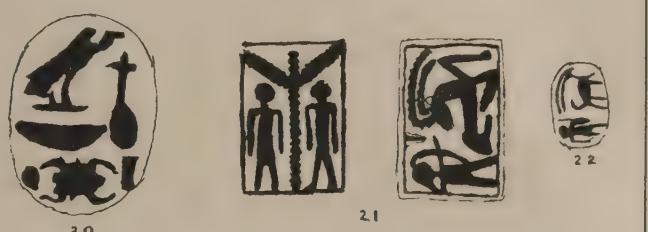
Tumulus VIII



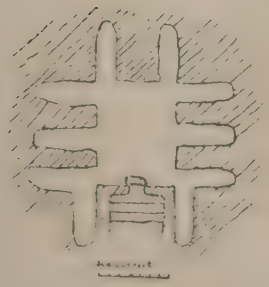
miscellaneous.



graves in the gezireh

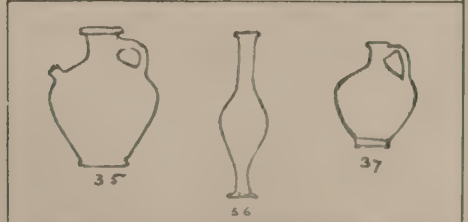


circa DYN XXII



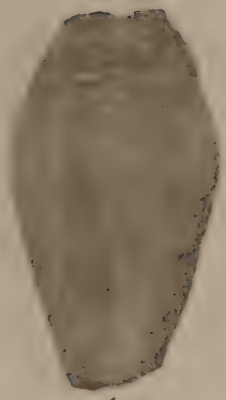
Romano-Jewish tomb

Dyn. XXVI to Roman.



Pottery from Romano Jewish tombs 1:8

F.L.G. del.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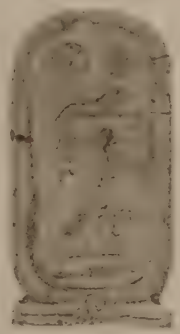
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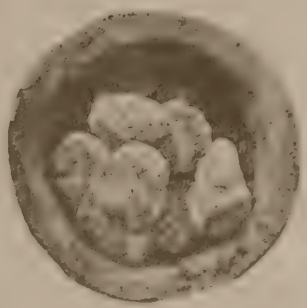
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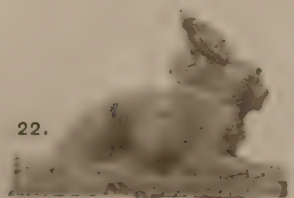
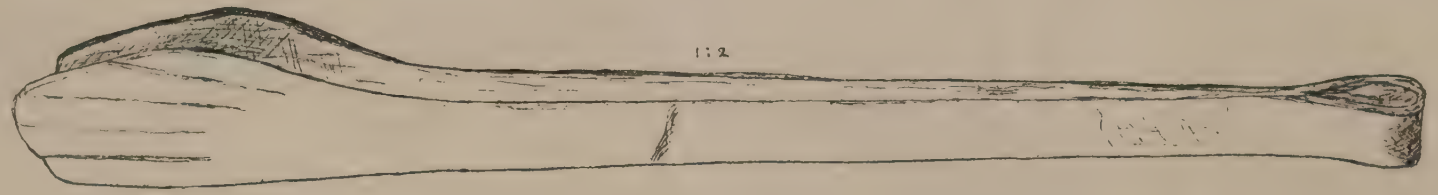

22.

1–7. TERRA-COTTA AND GLAZED WARE, TELL TUKH. 8–21. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT, TELL TUKH.
22. GLAZED WARE, TELL BASTEH.

Face of part of South East wall of enclosure

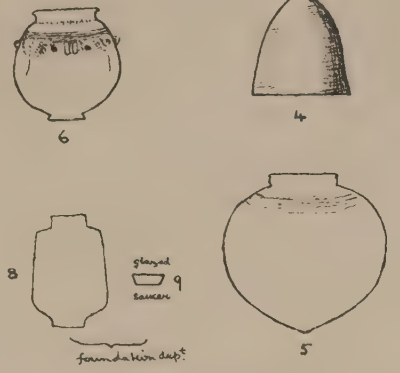


1:2

Pottery 1:8

2 3

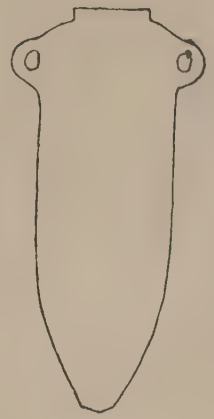
steatite



6 4 8 glazed saucer 9 5

foundation dep.t

Tel Tûkh



7

10

glazed ware.

11

steatite

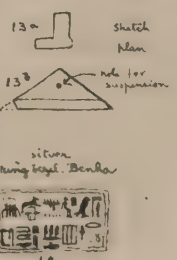
Sammanûd

13

1:2

Latin seal, limestone

Benha (Athribis)



13a sketch plan

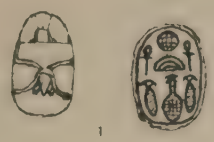
13b rule for suspension

sitwn ring bezel. Benha

14

12 steatite Tel Muqdâm

F.L.G del


1

2

3

4

5

6

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8

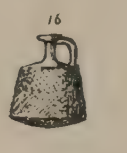
9

glass scarab imitating of drilled hard stone
10

11

12

13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14

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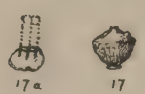
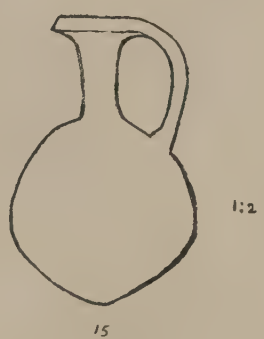

17a 17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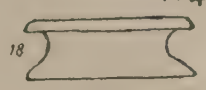
1:2

KHATA'NEH

1:4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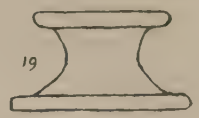

19

20

21

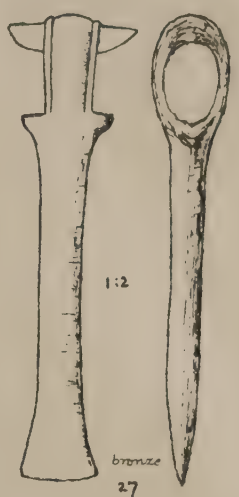
22

23

24

25

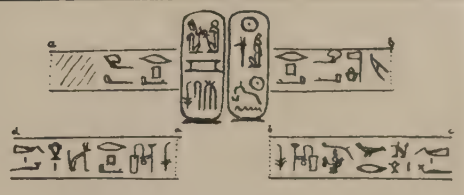
1:4


bronze
27

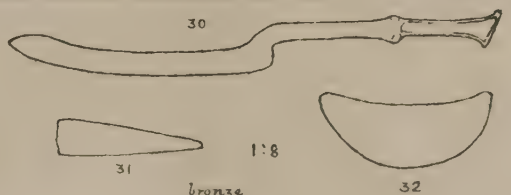
1:2

26

1:4

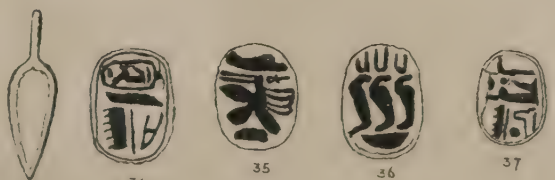

inscription on front a-b and sides a-d, b-c of 29

28
KHATA'NEH


30 31 32

1:8

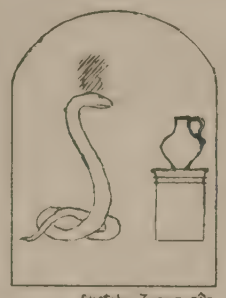
bronze


33 34 35 36 37

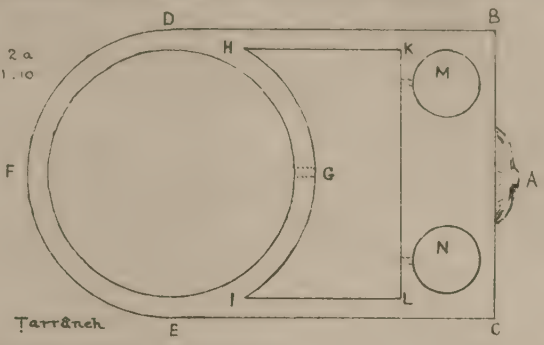
Tel Rotab (in Wady Tumilât)

29
Limestone trough with inscription.
Qantir

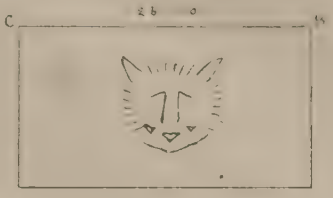
F.L.G. del

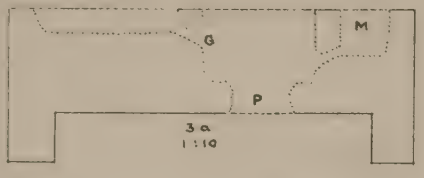

Sketch Z. er rasûh

2a
Scale 1:10

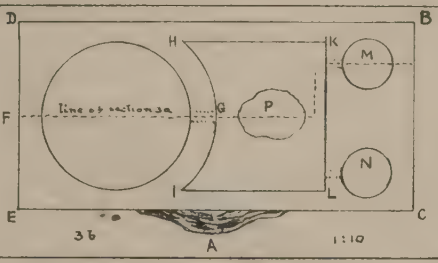


Ṭarrâneh



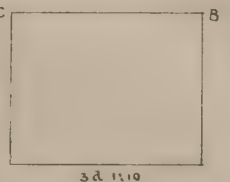


3a
1:10



3b
1:10

3c. A 1:20



3d 1:10

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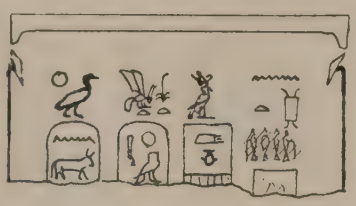

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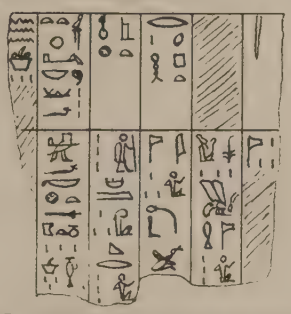

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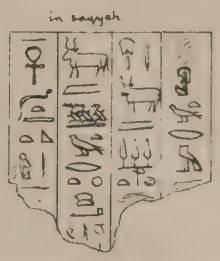
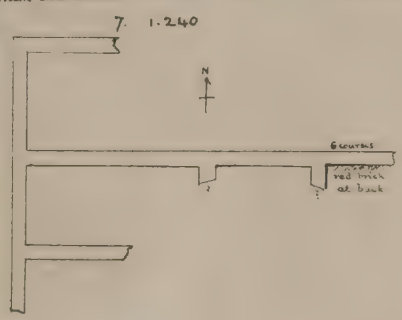


Kâm abû Billâh

7. 1:240



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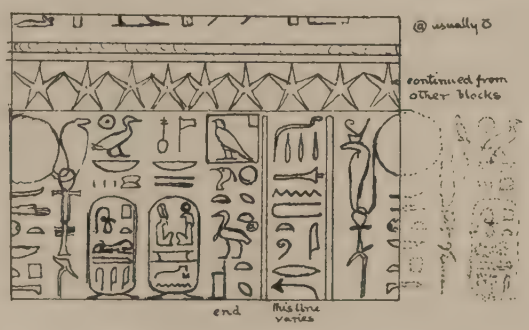

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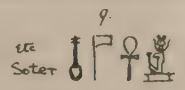

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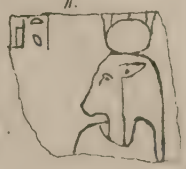
11.



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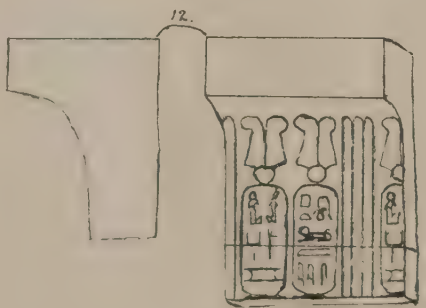
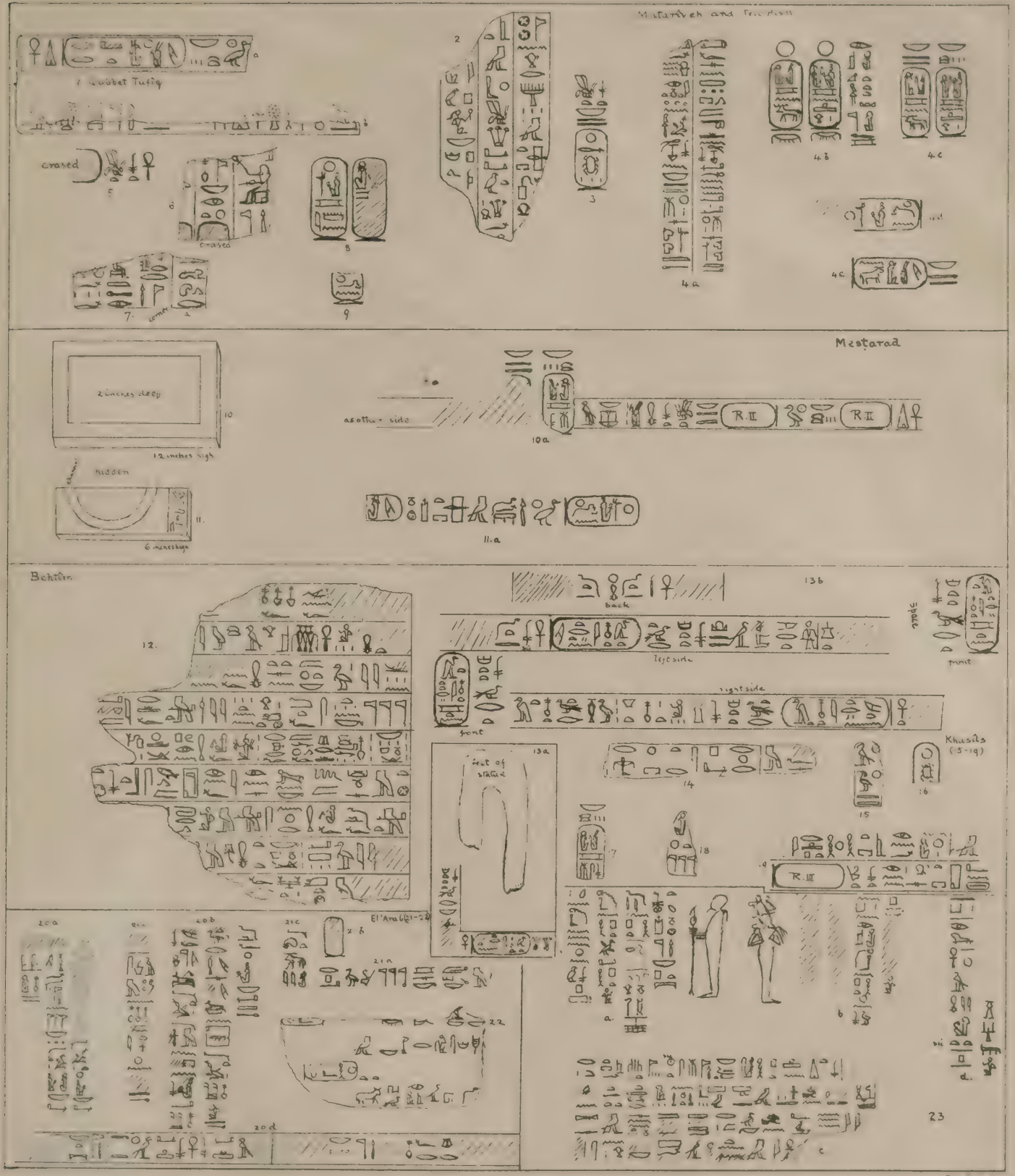


13.

14. ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟC CΩΤΑΡΙΩΝΟC-
ΛΚΘ ΛΓ ΦΑΜΕΝΩΘΒ
Limestone stela
ΤΙΚΙΝΝΑCΗΕΜΕCΟΥ ΦΑ///ΛΓ-

15.

FLG.


Mastatveh and Tell Hisn
Mesṭarad
Behṭîm
Khasâs (5-19)
El'Amâgîd-24
2 inches deep
12 inches high
6 inches high
hidden
R.II
R.III
back
front
right side
left side
base
top
foot of statue
1
2
3
4a
4b
4c
5
6
7
8
9
10
10a
11
11.a
12.
13a
13b
14
15
16
17
18
19
20a
20b
20c
20d
21a
21b
21c
22
23

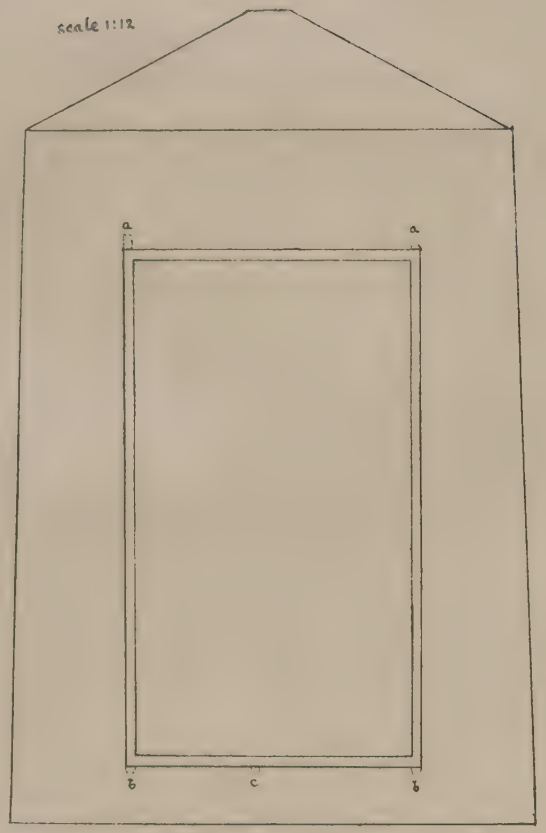
F.L.G. del

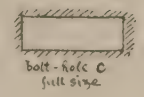
A
El Meri
Figure Offering
Table of offerings
seated figure
B
El Meri at banquet near South Abdel
Hawk headed

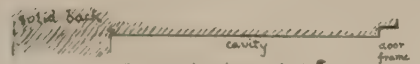
F.L.G del

Shrine

scale 1:12



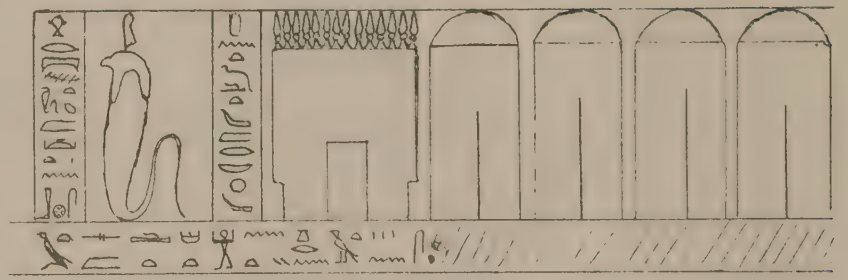




back to front : scale 1/12

Interior of Shrine

1.



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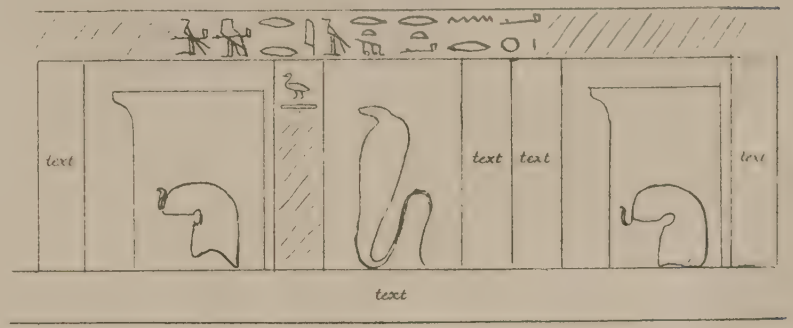


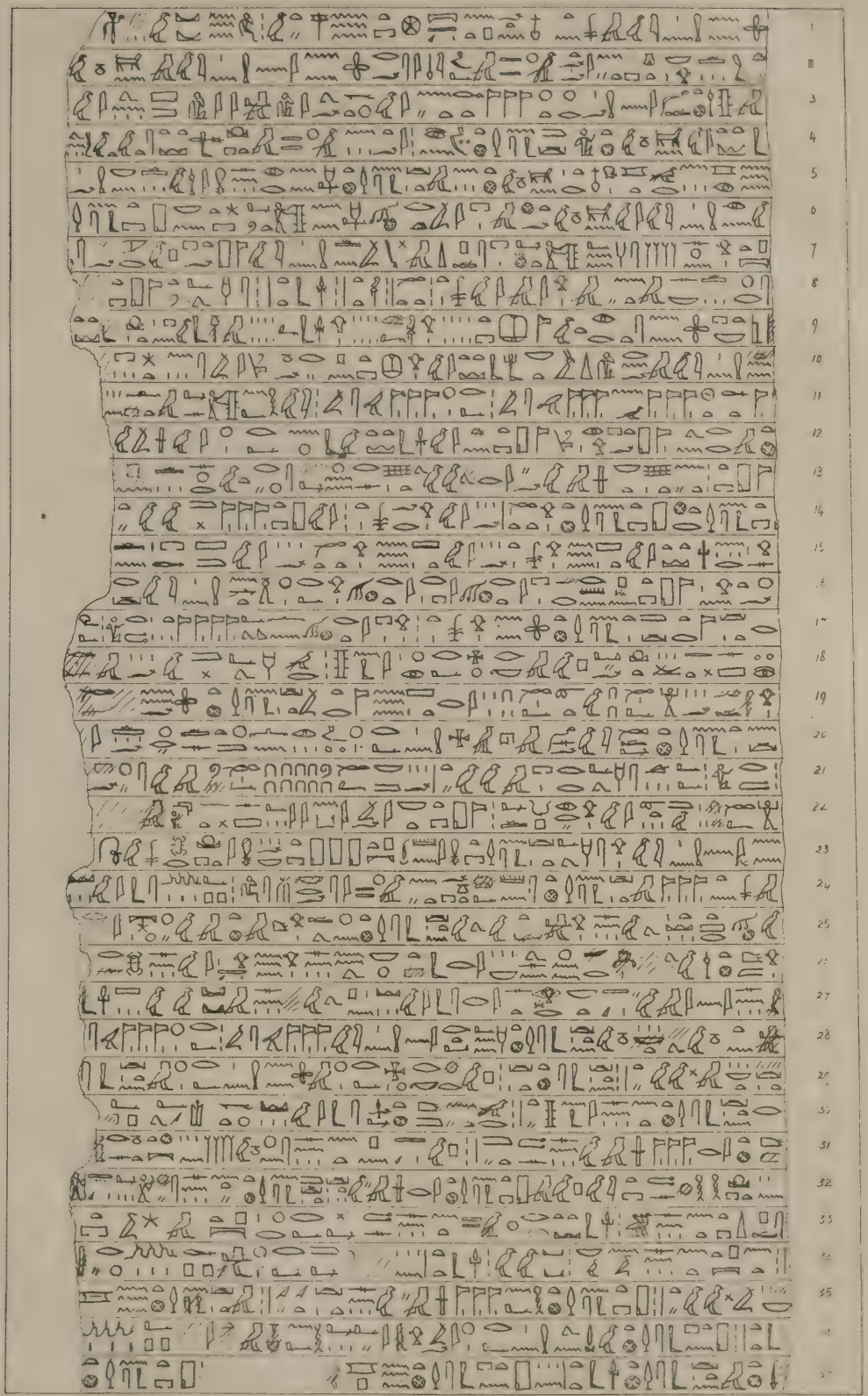
3

4

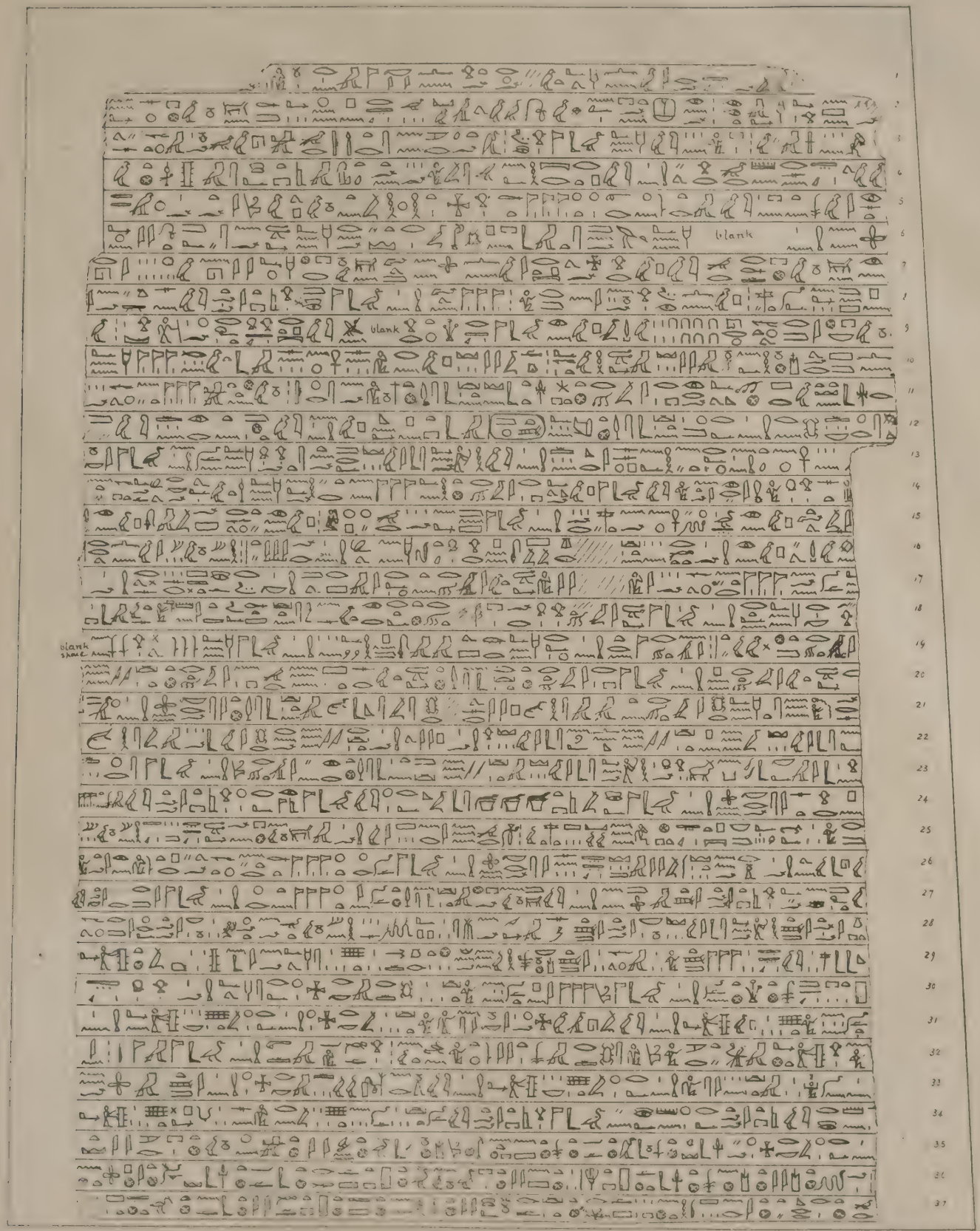
F.L.G del

EL ʿARÎSH *Shrine*.

XXIII



F L G. del


blank
blank
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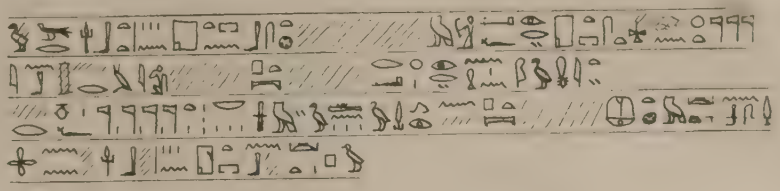
1



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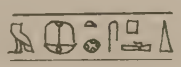

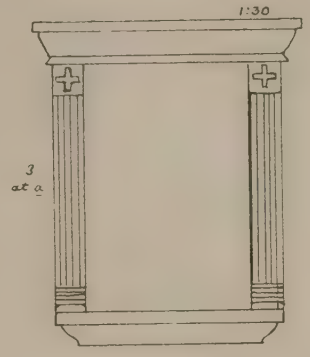

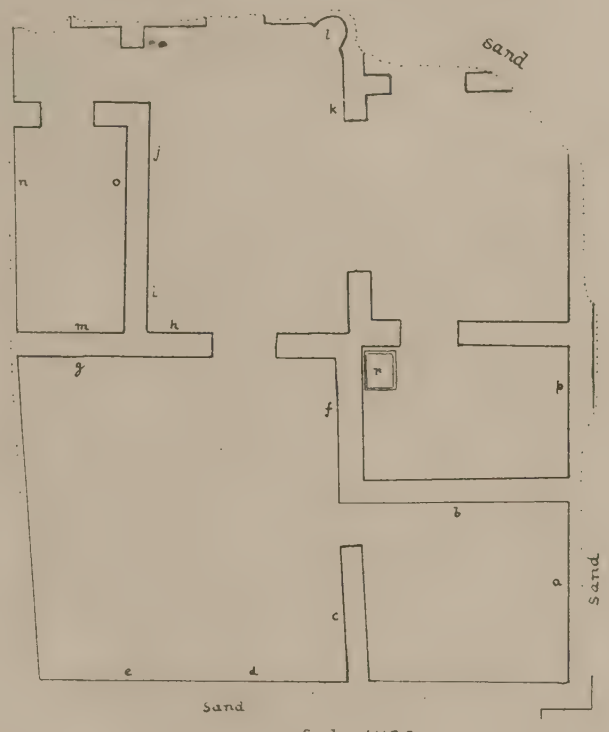

Scale 1:120

1, 2 fragments of inscription from the left side of the shrine

3, 4. niches in a stone building of Christian period. In the plan the niches are marked by letters: at r is the entrance to a crypt

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